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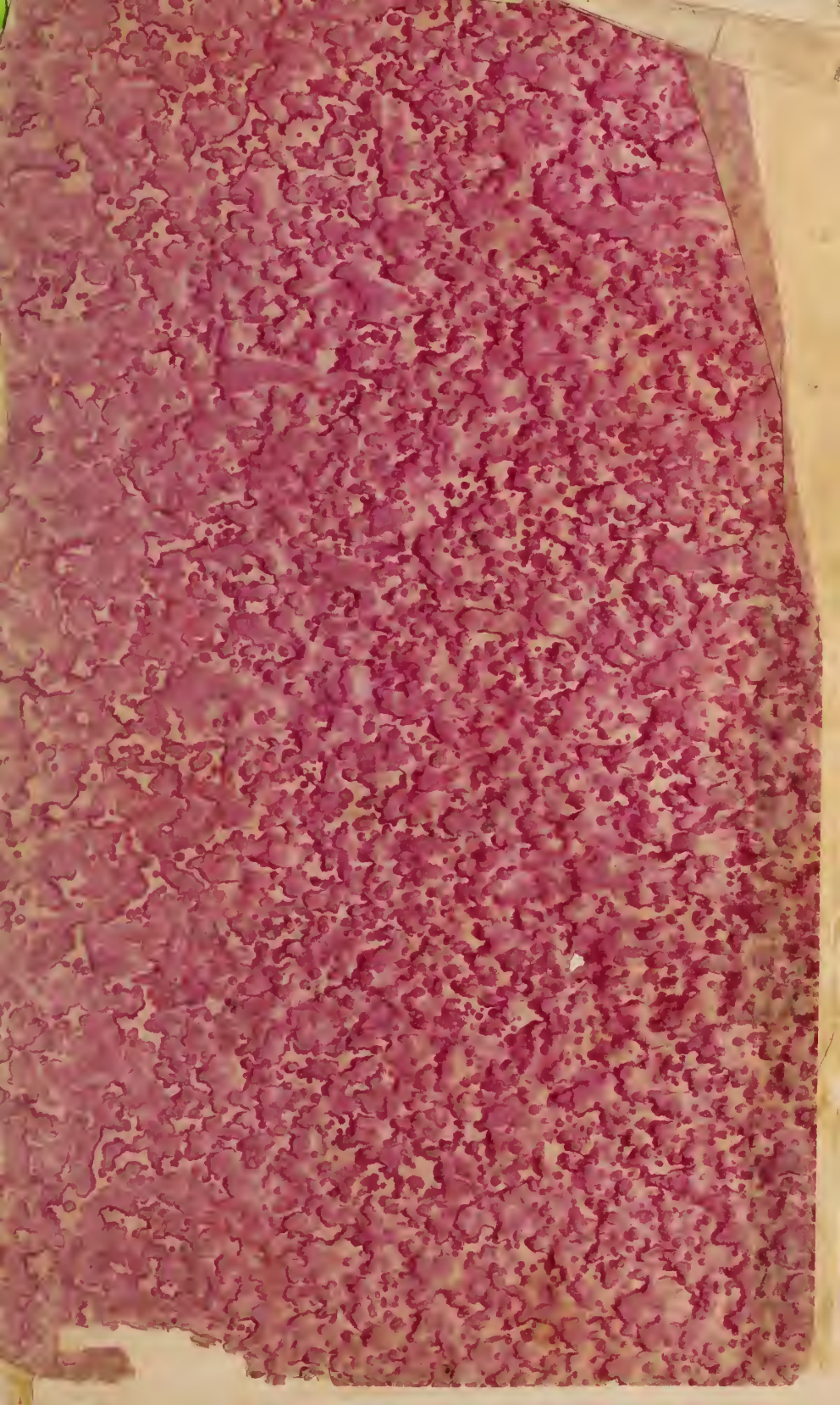
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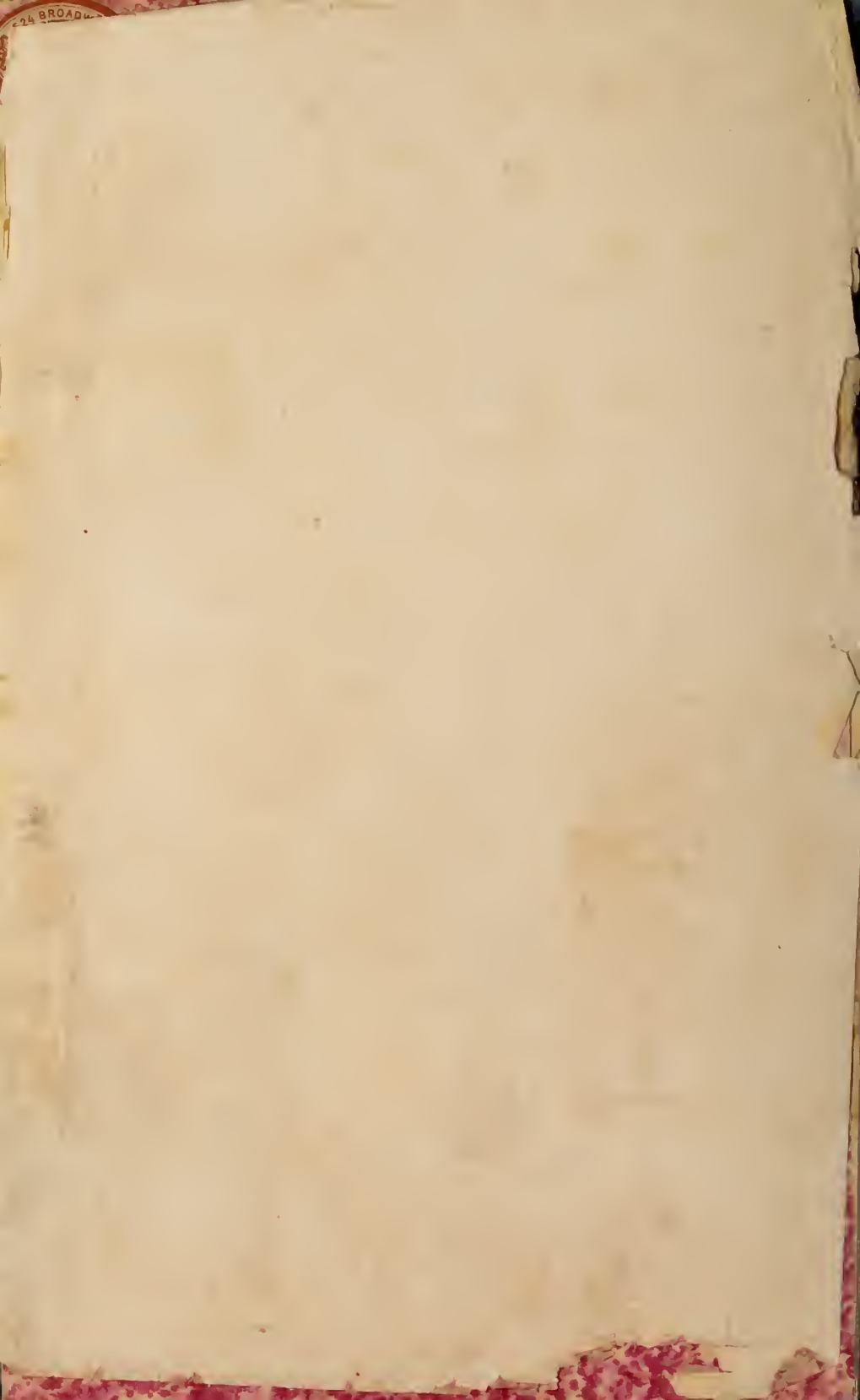
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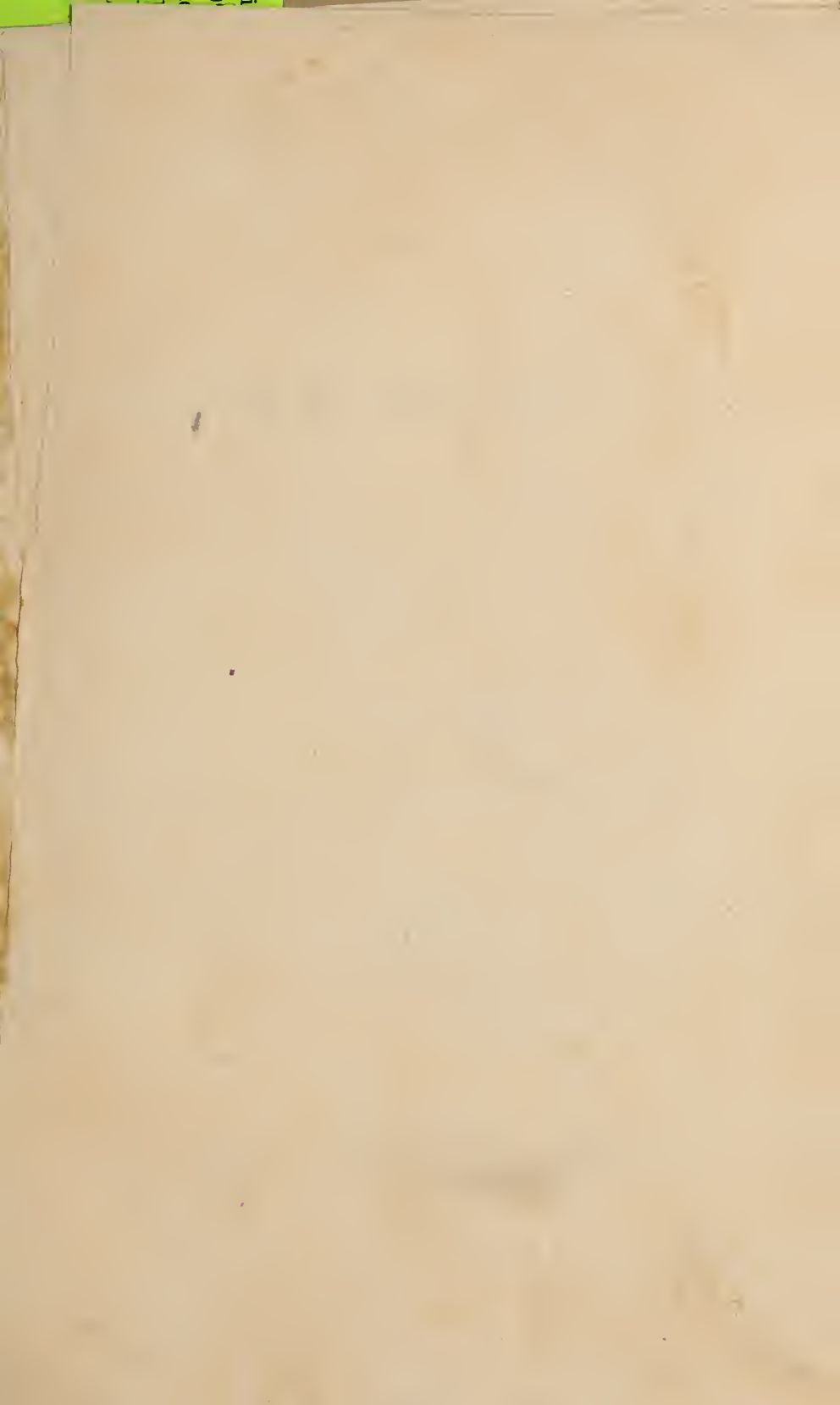
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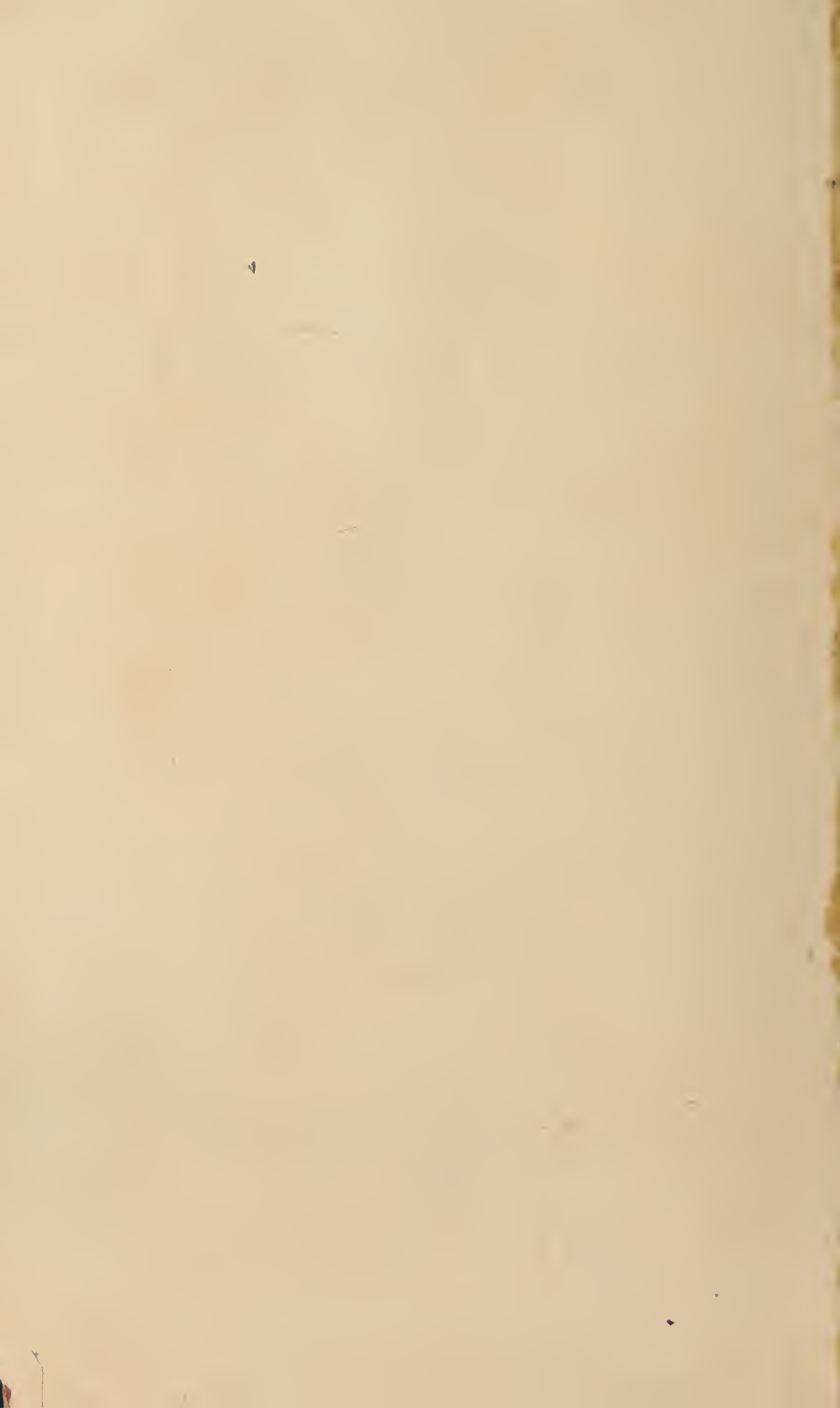
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ART. I. *Retrospection, or a Review of Public Occurrences in China during the last ten years, from January 1st, 1832, to December 31st, 1841. (Continued from page 201.)*

CAPTAIN Elliot's proceedings, undertaken with a view to obtain, from the Chinese, a formal recognition of his authority as king's officer, with permission for him to proceed to and reside at Canton, were noticed in the last number, as were also those of the local government regarding the trade in opium. These proceedings were brought down to the close of 1836, from which date we now proceed with our review. The more careful attention is due to these early steps, in public affairs, because with them are intimately connected the merits of the present war between Great Britain and the Chinese empire—a war involving, more or less directly a large portion of the human family. In proceeding with our review, it is our aim to adduce all the facts and testimony within our reach, necessary to enable the reader to form a correct judgment on the case in question.

*January 1st, 1837.* The magistrate at Nánhái went to the shop of Hungyi, a money-changer in the street Lienhing, near the foreign factories of Canton, in search of opium: the owner of the shop having absconded, some of the people employed by him in it were seized, in order to elicit from them information regarding the conduct of their master. The magistrate came out the next day and sealed up the shop.

2*d.* Aming, one of the linguists who had been seized and tortured on the charge of aiding in the smuggling of fine silver, was brought out of the city under a guard, with a heavy wooden cangue round his

neck, and posted at the gate of Howqua's factory, where he was to remain for two days, then to be removed to Mowqua's gate, and so on to the gates of all the thirteen hong.

10th. Regulations of the General Chamber of Commerce of Canton were adopted at a general meeting held this day.

20th. The governor of Canton sent up a memorial to the emperor regarding the appointment of captain Elliot to "manage the merchants and seamen of his country," and requesting permission for captain Elliot to reside at Canton.

"Since it was first permitted to the various nations of the foreigners, without the empire's pale, to have commercial intercourse with Canton, the English trade has always been the largest. Heretofore the direction of that nation's trade was in the hands of a company, by which, a chief, second, third and fourth supracargoes were appointed to reside in Canton. All the Company's foreign vessels successively reached China during the 7th and 8th months of every year; and having exchanged their commodities, left the port during the course of the 12th month, and of the 1st and 2d months of the following year. Having all left, the supracargoes forthwith requested passports to proceed to Macao, and reside there until the return of their foreign vessels in the 7th and 8th months, when they again requested passports to come to Canton to transact their affairs. This is the way in which formerly, and for a long time past, these affairs were regulated.

"At a later period, the Company having been dissolved, no chief supracargo was sent; and another person was directed to take the control of affairs.\* Your majesty's minister, Lú, then the governor, having represented this, received your majesty's commands, 'immediately to direct the hong-merchants, to desire the said private merchants to send a letter home to their country, calling for the renewed appointment of a chief supracargo who should come to Canton to direct commercial affairs, and thus should conform to the old enactments. Respect this.' In respectful obedience hereto, directions were given, as is on record.

"Now in the 11th month of the present year, I, your majesty's minister, have received from an English foreigner, Elliot, an address forwarded from Macao, to this effect:—'I have received dispatches from my government, specially appointing me to come to Canton, for the general control of the merchants and seamen of my nation. Under present circumstances, there being very many ships in the port, and the merchants and seamen at Canton and Whampoa being very numerous, and many of them little acquainted with the laws of the celestial empire, I am apprehensive lest any difficulties should arise; and I intreat, therefore, permission to proceed to Canton for the direction of affairs.'

"Observing that this foreigner, in his address, calls himself an officer, which appears to be the designation of a barbarian headman, and not at all of a chief supracargo; and that he does not plainly state in his address, what rank he now holds from his own nation; whether the purpose of his coming is simply to apply himself to the control of the merchants and seamen, or whether he is also to

\* This is an unofficial copy obtained through a private channel, and liable therefore to mistake. There seems to be a mistake here: it should probably be read, "and there was no person to take the control of affairs."

transact commercial business, and whether he has credentials from his government or not, I immediately sent a deputy to Macao, whom I directed to proceed thither with speed, to take with him hong-merchants; and, in conjunction with the local, civil and military officers, to ascertain fully the truth on all these points. This having been done, the deputy and the others reported to me in the following terms:—‘In obedience to the orders received, we took with us the hong-merchants, and questioned the foreigner, Elliot, on each point distinctly. His information was that he, Elliot, was an English officer of the fourth grade; that in the autumn of the 14th year of Tánkwáng, he came to China in a cruizer, as was at the time reported by the pilots; that he had remained two years in Macao, his business being to sign the papers of English merchant vessels; that now, the Company not having been reëstablished, and there being no chief supracargo, he had received his king’s commands, through a letter from a great minister of the first rank, informing him that he is appointed to control the merchants and seamen,—not to control commerce; that he has credentials, commanding him to hold the direction of affairs at Canton; and that in case of any disturbances, he alone is answerable. We also learned that the foreigner, Elliot, has brought with him a wife and a child, and a retinue of four persons. On inquiry, we found that the foreign barbarians at Macao, and the foreign merchants of his nation, all represented Elliot as a very quiet and peaceable man, and as having no ulterior object to effect.’

“This report having come before me, I find that since the dissolution of the English Company, a chief supracargo has not come hither; that of late, the ships’ papers of foreign merchants returning home have been signed by this foreigner, who has resided at Macao for the purpose, and is represented to have quietly attended to his duty; and that at this present time, ships are constantly and uninterruptedly arriving, and the merchants and seamen are indeed very numerous. It would be well, promptly to relax the unimportant restraints in order to preserve peace and quiet. Now this foreigner having received credentials from his country, appointing him to the general control of merchants and seamen: though he is not precisely the same as the chief supracargo hitherto appointed, yet the difference is but in name, for in reality he is the same. And, after all, he is a foreigner to hold the reins of foreigners; and if not allowed to interfere in aught else, it would seem that an alteration may be admitted; and that he may be permitted to come to Canton and direct affairs, according to the same regulations under which the chief supracargoes have hitherto acted. I have, for the present, commanded the said foreigner to remain temporarily at Macao, waiting until I shall have announced the facts to your majesty. If your majesty’s gracious assent be vouchsafed, I will then write to the superintendent of maritime customs to grant a passport for his admission to Canton. Thereafter, he shall be required to change his residence from Canton to Macao and back again, according to the season, just as under the former regulations; and he shall not be allowed to overpass the time, and linger about at the capital, so as gradually to effect a settlement here. I will besides command the local, civil, and military officers, and the hong-merchants, from time to time, truly to watch and examine his conduct, and if he exceed his duty, and acts foolishly, or forms connections with traitorous Chinese, with a view to twist the laws to serve private interest, he shall be immediately driven forth, and sent back to his country. Thus will the source of any illegalities be closed up.

"It is my duty to lay this before your majesty, that the correctness or incorrectness of my views may be determined; and for this purpose I subjoin to my memorial these remarks. Prostrate imploring you sacred majesty to grant me instructions. A respectful memorial."—*Corresp.* p. 151–152.

21st. A meeting was held in Canton, convened by a circular from captain Elliot, for the purpose of choosing a committee of British residents in Canton to correspond with H. B. M. superintendents of trade. *Canton Register*, 24th Jan. This proposed arrangement was not however actually carried into execution so as to effect any of the objects proposed by captain Elliot.

February 7th. Under this date captain Elliot wrote to viscount Palmerston, respecting the situation of certain British subjects who had been ordered, by the Chinese government, to leave this country on account of their being traders in opium; and he assures his lordship that, if this measure, of expelling the merchants is attempted, his interposition will become 'indispensable,' on account of the great injuries both they and their constituents would suffer by their being obliged to leave this country. *Corresp.* p. 181.

11th. His excellency Adriaõ A. da Silveira Pinto, governor of Macao, disembarked with his lady and family, on the Praya Grande, with the usual honors. *Canton Reg.*, 21st Feb.

12th. Six Japanese arrived in Canton from Háinán, where they had been wrecked near the close of last year. Several instances of this kind have been known to occur.

21st. Captain Elliot wrote to viscount Palmerston, saying he could not but think "the legalization of the trade in opium would afford his majesty's government great satisfaction." Yet he added, "it cannot be good that the conduct of a great trade should be so dependent upon the steady continuance of a vast prohibited traffic in an article of vicious luxury, high in price, and liable to frequent and prodigious fluctuation." And he believed it susceptible of proof, "that the gradual diversion of British capital into other channels of employment than this (in opium), would be attended with advantageous consequences." This letter to the foreign secretary was occasioned by the appearance in Canton of the two following papers.

No. 1.

"On the 20th day of the 12th month (Jan. 26th) the grand Council of State received the following verbal commands from his majesty:

"A report has this day arrived from Tang and his colleagues, presenting the result of their mutual deliberations, directed to remove the baneful effects that arise from opium having pervaded the country. By the prevalence of opium throughout the empire, there has been occasioned a daily decrease of our fine silver;

being now desirous to exert ourselves entirely to stop up the source of this evil, the only sure mode of proceeding is, utterly to prohibit the exportation of sycee silver. If by diligent and assiduous watchfulness in the places from whence the silver is exported, and at those points by which it necessarily must pass, we can deprive both the traitorous natives and the barbarians of all opportunity of exercising their artful advices, it is clear that we may thus gradually close up the breach and prevent further exportation. The said governor and his colleagues have been able to perceive this, and point it out in their memorial. Let them Join heart and hand to enforce vigilant and faithful observation, to punish all traitorous natives who combine with the foreigners in all illegality, and entirely to hinder foreign merchants from gratifying their avaricious greediness; and let it be their grand object wholly to prevent the exportation of our fine silver. Their labors must be productive of some fruit, they must not attempt to get off with mere empty words, but, having the name of exerting themselves, they must prove the reality of their exertions. Communicate these commands to Tang and Kí, and let them enjoin them also on Wán. Respect this."

## No. 2.

"The following passage is translated from a paper purporting to give information as to the nature of a dispatch received by the provincial government from Peking.

"A dispatch from the grand Council of State has reached Canton, to this effect, that the exportation of sycee silver is still by law to be prohibited; that as to opium, the governor and lieutenant-governor are directed to deliberate with regard to a duty, to be levied on its importation."—*Corresp.* p. 191.

*March 10th.* The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China held its second annual meeting in Canton.

*16th.* An edict was issued by the governor forbidding foreign ships to anchor in Kumsing moon.

*18th.* The hopo, or commissioner of customs, issued an edict, in accordance with the imperial pleasure, giving captain Elliot permission to proceed to Canton. *Chi. Rep.*, vol. V., p. 527.

*21st.* Captain Elliot addressed the following note to his excellency the governor of Canton.

"The undersigned has had the honor to receive the signification of his imperial majesty's most gracious commands that he should be furnished with a passport to repair to the provincial city and enter upon the performance of his duties. The undersigned respectfully assures his excellency, that it is at once his duty and his anxious desire to conform in all things to the imperial pleasure. And he will therefore heedfully attend to the points adverted to in the papers now before him. The undersigned has transmitted to the senior hong-merchant a list of the persons attached to his suite, whose names he desires to be inserted in his passport. And he avails himself of this occasion to offer to his excellency the governor, the reiterated expression of his most respectful consideration.

—*Corresp.* p. 195.

(Signed)

"CHARLES ELLIOT."

*20th.* Captain Elliot received his passport, allowing H. B. M. commission to proceed to Canton.

*April 1st.* Captain Elliot wrote the following communication to his government.

“My lord,—Before I proceed to Canton, I think it right to place your lordship in possession of my own views upon the actual posture of circumstances connected with the public intercourse between his majesty’s government and this empire. The imperial edict which I have had the honor to transmit, is certainly a very formal and unequivocal recognition of my character as a British officer, appointed by the government of my country, to manage its public concerns in these dominions. No attempt is made to evade the material distinction between my own position and that of the chief servant of the Company, or of any other foreign functionary hitherto permitted to reside here. The understanding that I cannot engage in trade, and that my business is purely public, is plainly expressed.

“Upon the side of his majesty’s government then, my lord, it appears to me, that no condition is wanting to give to the representations of its agent here, a complete formal character. They are the communications of a foreign officer recognized by the emperor, addressed to the head of the provincial government, and they reach his excellency’s hands in a sealed shape. As respects the communications of the government intended for me, the state of the case is very different. They are not addressed to me at all: they speak of me, not to me. They are injunctions to persons with whom, in the admission of the emperor, I have no congeniality of pursuit, and who, therefore, in common sense, ought to have no public relations with me. To the extent that the employment of the hong-merchant, as a channel for the conveyance of direct sealed communications to the governor, commits me to receive by the same hand direct sealed communications from the governor, the analogy, indeed, is a sound one, and I could offer no objection to practice founded upon it. But the use of the hong-merchant, as a letter-bearer to the governor, certainly carries with it no acquiescence in the doctrine, that the governor’s orders addressed to that individual are binding upon me.

“As it is at present, I am entitled to consider that the governor’s communications in respect to me reach me in the form of no more than highly credible information. And when no public inconvenience, or grave personal responsibility is to be incurred by shaping my proceedings upon knowledge thus acquired, I hope your lordship will be of opinion that I shall only manifest a proper respect to these authorities by conforming to their understood wishes, notwithstanding the indirectness of their signification. But as a constant principle, it appears to be clear that my obligations to conformity to the pleasure of this government, or of my notice of it, are justly limited by the rule, that it should be directly and formally signified to me. It is not for me to dictate a mode of intercourse to the Chinese government with an officer of a foreign nation—and, indeed, I have a strong impression that events will soon open their own eyes to the unsuitableness and inefficacy of the present course, for their own purposes. When his excellency finds me incommunicable upon points on which he desires to communicate with me, (for to receive papers addressed to the hong-merchants, in my judgment, by no means commits me to acknowledge them in other papers, addressed to the governor,) I imagine his excellency will set about to seek what these obstacles are, and how they may be conveniently and quietly set aside.

“His excellency, it may be suggested in some such conjuncture, receives my

communications in a sealed shape addressed directly to himself, a practice with which I am perfectly satisfied; and if he thinks fit to forward his own, direct to me in the same wise, I could no longer presume to question the perfect formal sufficiency of such a manner of intercourse. There were many subjects upon which his excellency communicated with the hong-merchants, that I could not venture publicly to notice, except his pleasure were signified to me in a direct form, or through a responsible officer of the empire of respectable rank, specially deputed for purpose of carrying on the public intercourse with me. Under present circumstances, his excellency's views only reached my knowledge as they did that of all foreign private individuals—that is to say, at second hand, and as an individual, they should always have my most respectful attention. But as an officer, my responsibility was serious, and I was precluded from dealing with them officially, unless I had a direct public warrant for my proceedings. The hong-merchants are men unacquainted with public affairs, and naturally swayed by their private interests, and therefore with no culpable intentions, their liability to mistakes and misconception is considerable. The consequences of such errors might be too fatal to permit me to waver from my just claim to be placed in direct possession of the wishes of this government, whenever it was expected I should take public notice of them, committing the public interests of my country.

“The emperor had already been graciously pleased to acknowledge my official character; and his imperial majesty, in his wisdom, would also recognise the reasonableness of these objections and requests, founded upon my duty to my own government, and upon an anxious desire to obviate the risk of very hazardous misunderstandings. With this course of representation put forward at a favorable opportunity, and in the most deferential language, I see no reason to despair of carrying the required modification in the mode of conducting my official intercourse with the provincial government. I will conclude this dispatch, by observing that, in my own humble opinion, the actual manner of communication from us to the Chinese is sufficiently formal and complete for all our purposes. From them to us, and for their objects, it is defective. I can assure your lordship that this is a condition of circumstances far less inconvenient to his majesty's government than to the provincial authorities. The defect, however, is of their own creation, and the remedy is in their own hands. I have, &c.

—*Corresp.* pp. 196–198.

(Signed)

“CHARLES ELLIOT.”

*8th.* Captain Elliot addressed the following letter to the governor of Canton, intending to prepare the way by it to announce his own arrival.

“The undersigned has the honor to acquaint your excellency, that he has received dispatches from the government of Singapore, informing him that seventeen natives of China had arrived there in January last, from a place called Pulo Aor. The chief of these persons represents, that he is an officer of this empire, and that the vessel in which they were embarked was carrying grain from one port to another, when she was overtaken by a violent tempest, and blown off the coast. The vessel was reduced to a condition of extreme peril in the high seas, and six of the unfortunate men had already sunk under the effect of cold and privation, when the English ship of Moncrieff bound from Canton to England, came up with her. This commander with becoming humanity took the people out of the wreck under circumstances of great difficulty, and left them at Pulo

Aor, having made arrangements with the native chief there, to convey them to Singapore. It is a pleasing duty to the undersigned on this occasion to acknowledge in grateful terms, the many acts of kindness which his own shipwrecked countrymen have experienced on the coast of China. The interchange of these charities cannot fail to strengthen the bonds of peace and good-will between the two nations. The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to your excellency the sentiments of his high respect.

—*Corresp.* p. 201.

(Signed)

“CHARLES ELLIOT.”

12th. H. B. M. commission arrived in Canton, consisting of capt. Elliot, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Elmslie, Mr. Morrison, and Mr. Anderson, leaving Mr. Colledge, Mr. Vachell, and Mr. Gutzlaff at Macao.

15th. The governor urges upon the hong-merchants to send away the foreign merchants engaged in the opium trade, who had applied for delay to recover their debts from the hong.

19th. The governor of Canton, it seems, was not to be coaxed into compliance with “barbarian usages;” on the 13th he issued orders to the hong-merchants; and again under this date, and in the following terms.

“Tang, governor of Kwángtung and Kwángsí, &c., &c., issues this order, requiring obedience.

“On the 12th instant, the English superintendent Elliot reported, that a vessel, with officers and people of Formosa, having encountered a gale off the Piscador islands, was driven to Pulo Aor, within the dominions of the said nation; that the persons on board were rescued, and that the foreign chief at Singapore had informed the said superintendent of the circumstance, in order that he might report the same. On the receipt of this report, I, the governor, communicated the subject in the proper quarters, and also commanded the senior hong-merchants to enjoin orders on the said superintendent, that he knowing the same, might act accordingly.

“But for all—for those without as well as those within the pale of the empire—there are rules and bonds of action, styles and modes of expression, becoming that dignity which has so long been respected. To the renovating principles for so long a period emanating from our empire, the barbarians on every side have submitted themselves. They have tendered to the celestial empire their respectful services, and this empire stands in truth at the head of the lands at its remotest borders, in no other character than that of a ruler amid ministering servants. As to foreign merchants, permission is granted them to trade and to export, and thus is bestowed on them the means of obtaining profit. And in regard to those in distress, they are rescued from their distresses, and with needful gifts are sent back. These things arise solely from the all-pervading goodness, and cherishing kindness of the great emperor, whose favors are constant and universal. Between him and the small, the petty, how can there exist anything like ‘bonds of peace and good-will?’

“The said superintendent, in his address on this occasion, has failed altogether to conform himself to the old rules, has omitted the respectful expression, ‘celestial empire,’ and has absurdly used such words and expressions as ‘your honorable country,’ and ‘peace and good-will between the two nations,’ giving utterance



to his own puffed-up imaginations. Not only is this offensive to the dignity to be maintained, but also the ideas therein expressed are absurd and ridiculous. At the time, I, the governor, on account of the dutiful nature of the thing reported, and because the said superintendent, having but newly come to Canton, is perhaps uninformed on many matters, viewed his address indulgently, and in a partial light, and manifested vastness of liberality. Therefore I refrained from plainly correcting him, and from casting back to him his address. But the said superintendent having come to Canton for the purpose of controlling the merchants and seamen, he cannot avoid having from time to time addresses to make. And if not forewarned, it will be impossible to insure that he will not, by continued ignorance and blindness, fall into some grave errors. This then would not be the way to preserve uninjured the concerns of the foreigners.

"I therefore issue this order to the senior hong-merchants, requiring them immediately to enjoin it on the said superintendent Elliot, that he may act in obedience to it. In whatever address he may have to present, he is absolutely required to conform implicitly to all that is called for by the dignity of the celestial empire. He must be careful to render his expressions thoroughly respectful, in order that appropriate commands may be given in reply. Let him not again step into any path opposed to the dignity of the empire, and so tread in a course of still greater error.

"The senior hong-merchants, whenever the said superintendent, or a foreign merchant of any nation, present an address on any subject, are required to give it a previous close and careful perusal, and if there be in it anything, as in this instance, inconsistent with the perfect dignity to be maintained, or any similar loose and crude phraseology, they are immediately to send back the address;— they must not have the audacity to present it for the party, by doing which they will involve themselves with such party in a severe investigation. I, the governor, having spoken, the law shall follow up what I say. Let all then listen with trembling attention. Oppose not these commands." April 19th.—*Cotresp.* pp. 202-203.

Regarding this edict captain Elliot wrote a long letter to his government, dated the 27th of this month, setting forth his views and action thereon. He perceived, he said, with great satisfaction, that the governor's manner of repelling his advances had not been carefully measured, and that his excellency had hastily placed himself in an unsound position. He therefore sent for Howqua, and on the—

22d. Having signed in his presence the following document, dispatched him with the same to the governor.

"On the 20th instant, the undersigned, &c., &c., received a communication from the hong-merchants, concerning an edict from the governor, addressed to them, dated on the 19th instant.

"In his excellency's edict to the hong-merchants, he is pleased to command the senior of their body to give all the addresses, which it may be the duty of the undersigned to submit, a close and careful perusal, before they present them to his excellency. And if they shall not approve of the language, not to dare to present them, but immediately to send them back. The undersigned cannot presume to question the perfect authority of his excellency to issue any orders, couched in any terms which he may think fit, to the hong-merchants. But the undersigned is a

foreign officer, and not a merchant, and he must take the liberty respectfully to declare, that it is impossible for him to submit his addresses to the governor to the knowledge or approbation of the hong-merchants, before they are forwarded.

"In the present posturc of eircumstances, therefore, the undersigned must cease to forward any further addresses to his excellency. And it is at the same time his duty to add, that in future he can only receive such official communications, sealed with his excellency's seal, as his excellency shall be pleased to address directly to himself, and not to the hong-merchants. To direct sealed communications from that high quarter, it must always be the duty and the earnest effort of the undersigned, to give the most respectful and zealous attention. The terms of his excellency's last edict to the hong-merchants, and the instructions which the undersigned has now received from his own government, constrain him to say, that he cannot deviate from his present determination, without drawing down certain ruin upon his own head. The exalted public station of his excellency, and his experience in affairs, render it needless for the undersigned to press upon the rule, that an officer's obligations of duty to his own government are sacred, and must be fulfilled. (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT."

—*Corresp.* p. 204.

25th. Having received the above, the hong-merchants reported the same to the governor, and thereupon his excellency thus addressed himself to the hong-merchants.

"Upon the receipt of this, I the governor have examined into the matter referred to. I find that the said superintendent, having newly come to Canton, and being in consequence unacquainted with the rules of dignity in the celestial empire, made use, in his former address, of expressions not altogether proper; which led me, the governor, to send to him commands of a special nature, making known to him the prohibitions and requirements, and thus preserving him from error.

"Now the above representation having been laid before me by the said merchants, I perceive that the said superintendent is able to understand the duties of faithfulness and attention, and that he will not indulge the slightest desire to act contrary to the requirements of dignity; that he is indeed dutifully disposed. Hereafter, whenever he may have occasion to address me on any subject, the said superintendent is permitted to seal his address, and to deliver them to the senior merchants, Wú Sháuyung, Lú Kíkáng and Puan Sháukwáng (Howqua, Mowqua, and Ponkequa), to present for him. As regards the subject matter of his addresses, and the nature of the expressions adopted, it will not be difficult for me the governor, myself to distinguish them, and act in reference to them. But with respect to commands issued by me, the governor, to the foreigners from without the empire, requiring their obedience in any matter, the established rule of the celestial empire is, always to address them to the senior hong-merchants, to be enjoined by them; and this rule it is inexpedient to alter. On a review of the particulars contained in the above address, I forthwith issue this order. When it reaches the said senior merchants, let them immediately enjoin it on the said superintendent, that he, having knowledge thereof, may act accordingly. Oppose not these commands." April 25th, 1837.—*Corresp.* pp. 204-205.

27th. The above was handed to captain Elliot late on the same day, the 25th, and, "under all the circumstances of the case," he

determined not to reject "these overtures;" accordingly he gave the following reply.

"The undersigned, &c., &c., has had the honor to receive an edict from your excellency, addressed to the three senior hong-merchants, dated on the 25th inst., for communication to him. He begs to offer to your excellency his respectful thanks for the commands that his addresses shall always be transmitted to your excellency's hands, by the three senior hong-merchants, in a sealed form. Your excellency, however, an illustrious officer in a very high station, has been pleased to signify that the customs of the empire prevent a direct communication of your commands to the undersigned. Under these circumstances, he has bent his most earnest attention to the course which it becomes him to pursue. And he is humbly of opinion, that he shall best evince his profound respect for the rules of this empire, by continuing to carry on the communications in the manner prescribed by your excellency, until he can receive the further commands of his own government. The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to your excellency the sentiments of his highest consideration.

—*Corresp.* p. 205.

(Signed)

"CHARLES ELLIOT."

With reference to the foregoing, viscount Palmerston, under date of Nov. 2d, 1837, thus wrote to captain Elliot.

"Her majesty's government have learnt with satisfaction that you had succeeded in obtaining the admission of the first of these claims, which relates to the mode of sending in your own communications; and I am to express to you the approbation of your government of the course which you pursued on the occasion. You will not fail, on every suitable opportunity, to continue to press for the recognition, on the part of the Chinese authorities, of your right to receive, direct from the viceroy, sealed communications addressed to yourself, without the intervention of hong-merchants.

I am, &c.

—*Corresp.* p. 192.

(Signed)

"PALMERSTON."

*May 1st.* On the communication of the 27th from captain Elliot, the governor gave the following orders to the hong-merchants.

"This address coming before me, I the governor have perused the document, and fully informed myself of its contents.

"As to my commands, which I the governor may have to give, such commands have hitherto been enjoined and inculcated through the medium of the senior hong-merchants. This concerns the settled dignity of the celestial empire; and the said nation, in its up-gazing contemplation of the majesty and benignity of the empire, will assuredly indulge no foolish expectations of change. Let obedience be at once paid in this matter, as is agreeable to the duty of the said superintendent's office. The above address being fully authenticated, I forthwith issue these commands to the said senior hong-merchants, Howqua and Mowqua. Let them immediately enjoy the commands on the said superintendent, that he, knowing the same, may act accordingly. Oppose not these commands." (*May 1st, 1837.*)—*Corresp.* p. 206-207.

*11th.* Under this date a list of subscribers, with donations to the amount of \$5,230, to a proposed Medical Missionary society in China, was published in the Canton Register.

18th. A meeting of the foreign residents was held in Canton with a view to open a chapel for public worship. A committee was appointed to carry into effect the wishes of those convened. *Can. Reg., May 30th.*

24th. In a dispatch of this date to his government, captain Elliot wrote; thus "upon the whole, perhaps, your lordship may be led to think that there can be no advantage in wringing a change of practice from the Chinese government regarding the mode of intercourse;" and therefore he hints that all "needless agitation of points of form" should be avoided. *Corresp.* p. 206.

June 1st. The governor of Canton gave permission to capt. Elliot to proceed to and from Canton in his European boat, without applying for a passport, he promising "not to fail to report the period of his arrival and departure." *Corresp.* p. 208.

5th. The managing partner in the Hingtái hong made a report of its concerns to the provincial government. *Can. Reg., June 27th.*

12th. Under this date, viscount Palmerston, in reply to captain Elliot's communications of December 30th, 1836, and January 12th, 1837, wrote thus:

"I have received your dispatch of December 30th, 1836, detailing the particulars of a communication into which you had thought proper to enter with the authorities of the Chinese government at Canton, through the hong-merchants; and I have also received your dispatch of January 12th, 1837, in which you state the course which you intended to pursue until the arrival of further instructions from this department. I have now to desire that, upon the receipt of this dispatch, you will forthwith inform the hong-merchants and the viceroy that his majesty's government cannot permit that you, an officer of his majesty, should hold communications with an officer of the emperor of China, through the intervention of private and irresponsible individuals. You will, therefore, request that any communications which the governor may have to make to you in future, may be sent to you direct; and that the governor will consent to receive directly from you any communications on public affairs which the interests of the two governments may require you to make to him. You will also explain, that if in future your written communications should not be endorsed with the character which is usually adopted by subordinate officers in China, when addressing representations to superior Chinese authorities; this alteration will not arise from any want of respect on your part towards the governor; but will simply be the result of the established usages of England, which do not admit that an officer commissioned by the king of England should so address an officer commissioned by any other sovereign." —*Corresp.* p. 149.

19th. The commissioner of customs made a report to the governor regarding the European boats, running to and from Canton, which led to the larger ones being interdicted, and the smaller ones being required to go without decks. Vol. VI., p. 103

21st. In February of this year, captain Elliot addressed lord Auckland, and rear-admiral sir Thomas Bladen Capel, soliciting the presence of one or more armed vessels, because "the interruption of the opium trade in China, must have the effect, not merely of temporarily crippling our means of purchasing at all in this market, but of placing us, in respect to the prices of export staples, completely in the power of a copartnership of native dealers. The failure of the opium deliveries is attended with an almost entire cessation of money transactions in Canton." But he thinks it "quite unnecessary to press upon the attention of their excellencies the many extremely important considerations connected with this subject." He therefore begs leave to suggest, "that the frequent and short visits of ships of war to this anchorage off Macao, and in the neighborhood of the points, along the coast, to which the outside trade (in opium) has extended, seemed to him to be the movements (best) calculated, either to carry the provincial government back to the system (of connivance) which has hitherto prevailed, or to hasten onwards the legalization measure from the court." Again: "there is a pressing necessity to use every effort, consistent with safety and discretion, for the relief of *the whole* trade, from the embarrassment into which it has been thrown by the restrictive spirit of the provincial government." This was written on the 2d of February; (Corresp. pp. 188, 189;) and surely indicates a desire to *preserve the traffic in opium*, either by legalization or by connivance. Their excellencies were not slow to accede to the superintendent's wishes. One of his majesty's sloops of war having arrived here, under the command of captain Quin, captain Elliot addressed the following letter to that officer, dated Macao, June 21st.

"Sir,—The disclosures which took place at Manila during your last visit at that port, have made you acquainted with all that is yet known of the disastrous fate of the late brig Fairy. And our recent conversation will have apprised you that fourteen Lascars landed upon the coasts of Fukien, but the piratical part of the crew are still said to be detained in Fúchau fú, the capital of that province. From all the inquiry I have been able to make, I am led to conclude that these men are kept by the provincial government of Fukien, in consequence of a difficulty to understand, or to credit the circumstances under which they landed; and probably pending further instructions from the court for their removal to this place. It appears to me, however, that if an application were made by you at the mouth of the Min river, the doubts and delays of the government of Fukien would give way; and at all events, if the people were not at once delivered to you, this proceeding would, in my judgment, accelerate their dispatch to this place by other means.

"With that impression, I have taken the liberty to propose this service; and in conformity with your wishes, I now submit the mode by which it occurs to me it may be best executed. I would suggest that you should proceed to the mouth

of the Min river, upon which the city of Fúchan fú is situated, taking with you the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff, joint interpreter to this establishment. That upon your arrival at that destination, you should hand to the commander of any man-of-war junk, or other servant of the government who may wait upon you, the accompanying paper, inclosure No. 1; and that your address to the governor should be placed in the hands of any officer who may be deputed to receive it. His excellency will probably meet these advances with a declaration that the people are safe; that it is not in his power to deliver them to you; that they shall be dispatched to Canton forthwith; and finally, with a request that you should leave the coast immediately.

“To a communication of this nature, I would advise that you should reply in the most conciliatory terms, signifying your indisposition to press any arrangements to which you were informed his excellency could not accede, and expressive of your entire confidence in his assurance of the safety of the people. If this communication from the governor should be made verbally, that is to say, through an officer deputed to confer with you, as indeed it is probable it will, I would submit that you should request this functionary to commit the subject matter to writing, remarking, that you were ready to leave the coast as soon as that was done. At this point of my letter, it is proper to observe to you, that I am without any uneasiness as to the safety of the people; but independently of hastening onwards the period of their release into our hands, this service appears to be calculated to help the uninterrupted progress of gradual relaxation at this place. I believe that no circumstance would more impressively fix upon the local government of these provinces the necessity of great moderation and circumspection in respect to the treatment of foreigners, than the successful result of quiet official application by an officer of the king at some other point than Canton; and more particularly at the chief city of the neighboring province of Fukien, where it is known that the monopoly of the foreign trade at Canton is a subject of great jealousy.

“The appearance of considerable eagerness for an early reply to your address, upon the ground that you were anxious to leave the coast, would probably remove all uneasiness about your intentions, and expedite a satisfactory and courteous answer. And I would beg you to bear in mind, that having effected a communication upon just pretences, and in a deferential manner, you will have accomplished what appears to be the principal object of your mission; for, as has already been observed, there is no reason for solicitude as to the safety of the people. Your former experience in this country, the cautious character of your instructions from the commander-in-chief, and your own sound judgment, would make it intrusive upon my part to do more than mention the necessity of extreme care in refraining from any proceedings likely to excite the suspicions of the Fukien authorities, and of earnest effort to conciliate their good-will. But being upon this topic, I would presume to say that it would be well to avoid those parts of the coast upon which the opium ships are usually anchored, neither would it be desirable that the ship should pass above the forts at the entrance of the Min.

“I have judged it best that the communications with the government of Fukien should be carried on in your name, rather than my own, because my business is specially with the authorities of the provinces, and you will feel that communications upon my part with those of another, would expose me to great

suspicion and dislike here. Mr. Gutzlaff, the joint interpreter, has been instructed to place himself under your directions, and will readily afford you every assistance in his power. After your departure from the Min, I am led to hope that you will convey to the Bonins, Mr. Millichamp, a British subject, and a principal settler in those islands. This person has been waiting here for a passage for more than twelve months at a heavy expense, and I am not without reason to believe that any facilities which could be properly afforded to him, would be acceptable to his majesty's government. Perhaps too, in the course of your voyage to the Bonins, you would do me the favor to call at Napakiang, in Lewchew, for the purpose of enabling the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff to join a vessel, bound on an expedition of investigation which he has my permission to do. I have, &c.,

—*Corresp.* pp. 211-212.

(Signed)

“CHARLES ELLIOT.”

A very full account of the loss of the English brig *Fairy* will be found in vol. VI., p. 201 and the sequel. H. B. M. sloop *Raleigh* sailed on the 23d, two days after the date of the foregoing letter. The vessel alluded to in the last paragraph was the *Morrison*, which sailed from Macao July 4th, bound to Japan. See vol. VI., p. 209 and sequel. For some curious notices of the Bonin islands, see *Corresp.* p. 218 and sequel; also vol. VI., p. 381 and sequel.

*July 4th.* The American ship *Morrison*, captain D. Ingersoll, sailed from Macao for Japan. Vol. VI., p. 289, &c., p. 353, &c.

*9th.* The governor of Canton published an edict regarding the affairs of the Hingtai hong. *Canton Reg.*, July 18th.

*18th.* Another edict from the governor was published on the same subject. *Canton Reg.*, July 25th.

*August.* In course of this month an imperial edict reached Canton, announcing the degradation of his excellency Tang Tingching. Vol. VI., p. 308.

*29th.* The ship *Morrison* returned from her trip to Lewchew and Japan, and brought back the Japanese, whose return to their homes was the main object of her voyage.

*September 20th.* Under this date, viscount Palmerston, at the Foreign office, addressed the following communication to the lords of the admiralty.

“Her majesty's government have had under their consideration sir John Barrow's letter of the 6th instant, in which, by command of your lordships, he incloses a copy of an article in the instructions of the naval commander-in-chief in the East Indies, upon the subject of our relations with China, and requests to be informed whether any, and if any, what addition or alteration should be made in that instruction; and, also, whether the rear-admiral commanding-in-chief, should not be directed to proceed himself to Macao, to communicate with her majesty's superintendent at Canton. Her majesty's government having, at the same time, had under consideration the several letters which have on various occasions been addressed by this department to the admiralty, upon the nature of

the protection which it would be desirable to afford to British subjects resident in or trading to China, I have now to signify to your lordships the queen's pleasure, that the existing instruction to the commander-in-chief in the East Indies, with respect to China, should be altogether cancelled, and that one, in the following terms, should be substituted in its stead:

“The trade between Great Britain and China being now by law thrown open to all her majesty's subjects instead of being confined, as formerly, to the East India Company, the care of our commercial relations with the Chinese empire has, in consequence, been transferred to the crown; the East India Company's establishments at Canton and Macao have been withdrawn; and a queen's officer has been substituted, with the title of superintendent and with the duties of a consul. It is, therefore, desirable that one or more of the ships under your orders should, as frequently as possible, visit the China station, and should remain there as long as may be consistent with the demands of the service elsewhere within your command; and whenever a frigate can be spared for this service, a ship of that class would be preferable to a smaller one.

“The purposes for which such ships would be stationed are:—First, to afford protection to British interests, and to give weight to any representations which her majesty's superintendent may be under the necessity of making, in case any of her majesty's subjects should have just cause of complaint against the Chinese authorities; and secondly, to assist the superintendent in maintaining order among the crews of the British merchantmen who frequent the port of Canton.

“The officers commanding the ships of her majesty, which may thus from time to time be sent to China, should be especially admonished to be very careful that the officers and men belonging to the ship under their command, do not in any way offend the prejudices of the Chinese people, nor violate the laws and customs of the Chinese empire; and upon all such matters, as well as with respect to the places where such ships ought to lie, in order best to be able to perform the services for which they are sent, the officers in command should communicate frequently and confidentially with her majesty's superintendent; remembering always, however, that unless in a case of great emergency, when a demonstration or an actual employment of force may be urgently and absolutely necessary for the protection of the lives and property of British subjects, her majesty's ships of war are studiously to respect the regulations of the Chinese government as to the limits beyond which foreign ships of war are not allowed to approach the city of Canton.

“But it is for many reasons expedient, for the interests of her majesty's service, that you should yourself take as early an opportunity as may be convenient, to have a personal communication with her majesty's superintendent, who would meet you for that purpose at Macao; and your visit on that occasion should, if possible, be made in a line-of-battle ship. The interchange of information between yourself and the superintendent, for which such personal communication would afford an opportunity, would, in many possible future contingencies, be highly advantageous to British interests in that quarter.

“You will, however, constantly bear in mind, that while, on the one hand, it is useful that the Chinese should be aware of the nature and extent of her majesty's naval power, it is, on the other hand, most important that you should avoid any proceedings which might inspire the Chinese with an apprehension that this naval power is likely to be employed in unprovoked hostility against them.”



"In conclusion, I am to request, that your lordships will furnish me with a copy of any instructions which you may now, or at any future time, think proper to give to the naval commander-in-chief in the East Indies, bearing upon the question of our relations with China, in order that the same may, if necessary, be transmitted to her majesty's superintendent in China, for his information and guidance. I am, &c., (Signed) PALMERSTON."

—*Corresp.* pp. 193-194.

25th. On the 4th and 17th of August, and on the 18th and 19th of September, the governor and lieutenant-governor issued orders to the hong-merchants, requiring captain Elliot immediately to send away all the opium-receiving ships from China, of which an abstract is here given.

No. 1.

"The English superintendent Elliot, being authorized to direct even trifling matters, is so much the more called on to interfere in an important matter, which, as it is contrary to the laws of the celestial empire, must also be obnoxious to the instructions which the superintendent has from his own government. The benevolence of the great emperor is universal, but it cannot suffer depraved foreigners to tempt natives to do evil.

"The strict terms of the imperial edict require on the part of their excellencies, the utmost diligence; and, being apprehensive that the hong-merchants may not have explained the subject with sufficient earnestness, this second edict is therefore issued. The superintendent is to be instructed, immediately to send away all the vessels anchored at Lintin, and other places outside the port; and hereafter, the trade must be confined to articles legally dutiable, and no contraband articles, such as opium, must be imported.

"The goodness of the government in permitting foreigners to have a general mart for their commerce, at such an important emporium as Canton, is then spoken of; but it is shown on the other hand, that the emperor can be awfully severe, as well as good and merciful; and that it will be well, therefore, to avoid such conduct as will lead to the entire stoppage of commercial intercourse."

No. 2.

"The goodness of the government in permitting the continuance of trade, under all circumstances, for a space of 200 years, is highly extolled, and the contumacy of foreigners reprobated; and it is asked, if they can suppose that while they render the Chinese seas a common sewer for the filthy opium, the government can fail to put the laws in force against them; if in the several foreign countries, individuals of another country were, with their ships, to contravene the laws, and continue for a long time so doing, the king of the country would certainly enforce the laws against the offenders. How much more must the government of this empire punish the contumacious disobedience of barbarians?

"The king of England has been hitherto dutiful and respectful, and has plainly prohibited the conduct complained of; and, lest any of his people should bring shame on their country, has sent the superintendent Elliot to Canton, to hold them in check. But a month has elapsed since strict investigation concerning these receiving-vessels was entered upon, and yet the superintendent has not sent any of them away. It is to be feared, therefore, he is unfit for the situation of superintendent. If he can willingly bear reproach, on account of these vessels,

how then will he answer it to his king, or how to their excellencies, if he will seriously consider it, he surely cannot find rest upon his bed.

"Their excellencies issue once more their commands, requiring the superintendent to make known to those of the receiving-ships the goodness and the terrors of the government; to lay before them the choice of weal or woe; and to call on them all immediately to return home: they also require him to report to his king, in order that the receiving-vessels may henceforth be prohibited from coming hither. Thus the good and bad will not be confounded; thus the unbounded goodness of the emperor may be manifested, and the path of intercourse be for ever retained to those who are good among the foreigners. It would not be difficult for their excellencies to use the power placed in their hands, and at once drive off these offenders; but they do not decline repeatedly to give admonitions, lest anything should be wanting to the faithful exhibition of their requirements, and so the display of impartial benevolence should be obstructed. But further contumacy, after this, will make it manifest that words are but thrown away upon willful offenders."—*Corresp.* p. 235.

Referring to these "orders to the hong-merchants, captain Elliot, under this date, the 25th of September, thus addressed the governor of Canton.

"The undersigned, &c., &c., has had the honor to receive your excellency's edicts addressed to the senior hong-merchants, dated on the 18th and 19th September, 1837. His commission from his government places the ships and subjects of the English nation trading to this port under his direction. It is his duty to use every effort to cause all British persons arriving within these limits, to respect the laws and customs of the empire; and your excellency may be assured that he will ever zealously devote himself to those objects. The undersigned is not ignorant that an extensive traffic is carried on without the port of Canton by the ships of foreign nations. But he sees only the papers of British ships which arrive within the port: and he is therefore without any public means of knowing which of the ships resorting to these anchorages are British: what is the nature of their pursuits; whence they come, or whither they go?

"Your excellency has now been pleased to direct that his majesty the king of England should be informed of the gracious will of the emperor, requiring the adoption of measures to prevent these alleged irregular visits of British ships to the coast of China. It is the duty of the undersigned respectfully, but plainly, to signify to your excellency, that the present condition of his public intercourse with the government of these provinces renders it impossible, consistently with the customs of his country, that any such communication should ever arrive under the notice of the king. The pleasure of your excellency reaches the knowledge of the undersigned, who is an officer, and wholly unconnected with trade, in no more authentic and formal shape than the copy of an edict addressed by your excellency to native merchants. He does not dare to forward the substance of information derived from such a source for submission to the throne.

"In his ordinary intercourse with your excellencies, he has deferred, at great personal responsibility, to the present manner of communication, because your excellency informed him that it was in conformity with the customs of the empire. But in the transmission of communications to the knowledge of the king of England, it is in like manner just and needful, that due regard should be had to the customs which regulate the manner of intercourse with his majesty.

"In a late visit of a British ship-of-war to the coasts of Fukien, upon public business, his excellency the governor of that province communicated his pleasure concerning those affairs, to certain officers of the province, and commanded them to take a copy of his edict, and to deliver it, under their seal, to the commander of the British ship. That document is now in possession of the undersigned, and a translation of it will be laid before the king, so that the gracious benevolence of the emperor to the distressed subjects of his kingdom may be made known to his majesty. If your excellency, in your wisdom, shall judge fit to conform to this same practice, whenever it be desired to lay communications before his majesty, all difficulty upon the subject will be removed.

"The undersigned will conclude this address, by observing, that his gracious sovereign has never yet been approached with representations setting forth the existence of irregularities by the subjects of his kingdom on these coasts; and that his majesty, therefore, can know nothing of any such allegation, or of the pleasure of the emperor in respect to them. The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to your excellency the sentiments of his highest considerations.

I am, &c.,

—Corresp. pp. 236-237.

(Signed)

"CHARLES ELLIOT."

28th. Their excellencies, the governor and lieutenant-governor, replied to the foregoing, declaring 'the address of the superintendent to be merely a specious document,' yet are willing 'to adapt their proceedings to the occasion,' and therefore they command the prefect and the chief military officer of the department to communicate the orders under their seals directly to captain Elliot, that he may forward the same to his king.

29th. Accordingly, under this date those two officers communicated to captain Elliot the following document.

Chú, prefect of Kwángchau fú, and Tá, commander of the forces of Kwángchan, issue these commands to the English superintendent, Elliot, that he may render himself acquainted therewith. On the 28th September, we received from their excellencies the governor and lieutenant-governor, the following official document:—

"On the 3d of August, we received from the Grand Council of State, copy of an imperial edict, of date July 14th, of the following tenor:—

"Owing to the exportation of silver carried on from all the ports along the coast, and in consideration of the important bearing of this upon the national resources and the livelihood of the people, we have already, in repeated instances, declared our pleasure, requiring all the governors and lieutenant-governors of the provinces, faithfully to make examination and to act in this matter.

"To-day again, the sub-censor Lí Pánkiú, has laid before us a memorial to this effect, that there are above ten English warehousing vessels, which first, in the year 1821, entered the anchorage of Kápshuymún, and thence in 1833, removed their anchorage to Kumsingmún; that the importation of opium, and the exportation of silver, depend wholly on these warehousing vessels, which form also a general refuge for absconders; that a set of worthless fellows, in boats called 'fast-crabs,' going and coming from morn to night, find means to make their way stealthily into every creek and inlet: that there are depraved dealers

who prepare the drug for use, buying and selling by wholesale; and, also, that the native retail dealers in foreign commodities, under the open pretext of selling articles of commerce, make secret smuggling their business, and in nowise differ from the larger preparers of the drug.

“There surely must be a fixed place of anchorage for the vessels of the foreigners: how then is it, that, while previous to the year 1821, the clandestine establishment of warehousing vessels was never heard of, these vessels have of late been suffered to remain for whole years at anchor on the high seas, thus leading to unlawful combination between them and natives, and to unrestrained smuggling? Let it be the responsible duty of the governor of Kwángtung and his colleagues, to give strict orders to the hong-merchants, to be enjoined on the resident foreigners of the said nation, requiring them to compel the warehousing vessels now anchored there, one and all, to return home, and not to permit them under any pretext to linger about. Let them also ascertain where are the dens and hiding-places of the opium-dealers, and inflict punishment on each individual, without the slightest indulgence. Thus the source of the evil may be closed up, and the spirit of contumacy suppressed. Let a copy of the memorial be, together with these commands, transmitted to Tang and Kí, and by them let the commands be enjoined on Wán. Respect this.”

“This having been with respectful obedience transmitted to us, the governor and lieutenant-governor, we have examined the subject. Opium is a poison capable of destroying life; and the pure silver may not by law be exported. The aim and object of the foreign receiving-ships is gain alone; and by presuming for a long period to remain at anchor, enticing the natives and combining with them in clandestine traffic, those concerned in these ships have greatly infringed the laws of the celestial empire. Having respectfully received the above commands, we issued especial orders to the hong-merchants, requiring them earnestly and zealously to enjoin the same on the said superintendent Elliot, and directing, that he should pay immediate obedience to the declared imperial pleasure; that he should send away home every one of the receiving vessels now anchored in the various offings, and should no longer suffer them to linger about as heretofore. This is on record.

“After thus doing, we successively received reports from the military commander at Tá-pang, from the sub-prefect at Macao, and from the civil and naval authorities of Híángshán, to the effect, that there were twenty-five receiving-vessels anchored off the Motáu island (in Kapshuymún), as also in the offings of the Nine islands and Cabreta point, and in the anchorage of the Typa; from which places they successively moved on the 29th and 30th days of August; and on the 2d and 3d of September, nineteen of the said receiving-ships proceeding from the Motáu islands to Tsienshátsuy offing, and two of them from the Nine islands, and one from off Cabreta point, to the same place; further, that on the 8th of September, two vessels moved from Tsienshátsuy to the Typa, and on the 9th, one from the same place to Cabreta point; while only a Dutch ship, which had in the year 1834, anchored off the Nine islands, and had at this time removed to Tsienshátsuy weighed anchor on the 7th, and proceeded to sea, beyond the great Ladrone islands. We also received a communication from the naval commander-in-chief to the same effect, adding that Tsienshátsuy is to the eastward of Motáu; and suggesting the great necessity for driving off the numerous vessels which have now taken up their anchorage there.

"Now these receiving-ships come from the southwestward, and must needs return in a southwest direction; how is it then that they have on the contrary removed eastward! And why do they not remain in one place? It is manifest herein that they wish to cruize about unchecked, and to linger in the neighborhood, to watch the progress of circumstances.

"The goodness of the celestial empire and its cherishing kindness are extreme. Since it first granted to all nations a general market, where the commodities of all might be bartered, a space of 200 years has elapsed as though it had been but a single day. Such profound benevolence,—favors so substantial, are well fitted to penetrate the entire body, even to the very marrow of the bones. Could it then be supposed, that depraved foreigners would twist awry the laws, and to serve merely their private ends, would assume the pretence of traffic! Most lucid and clear are the sacred commands. Can any yet dare to be, as the habitual looker-on, unobservant, and still continue to linger about? And are the seas of the central flowery land to be made a common sewer for the reception of this filthy [opium]? Or shall we, intrusted with the defense and government of the frontier, be thought unable to follow such conduct with the rigor of the laws? Consider, if within the territory of any of those countries, the vessels of another country were contumaciously to infringe the prohibitions, and remain for a long period there without leaving, whether the king of that nation would not regard it necessary to punish such offenders with rigor, refusing the least indulgence. How much more then the celestial empire! How can it suffer barbarians to disobey the laws, and without restraint to throw contempt thereon!

"The king of the said nation has been heretofore, dutiful and respectful, and his prohibitions have been rigorously and clearly enacted. And being apprehensive lest merchants or seamen of vessels coming hither should infringe prohibitions, or transgress the laws, and so should bring shame upon their country, he specially sent the superintendent Elliot to Canton, to keep them under control and restraint. But these receiving-ships have now remained for a very long time at anchor; and though two months have elapsed since the said superintendent has received our commands, he has not yet sent them away to their country. We fear he is unfit to bear the designation of superintendent. If he can willingly subject himself to reproach on account of these receiving-vessels, how will he be able to answer it to his king? Or how to Us, the governor and lieutenant-governor? Let him, in the stillness of night, reflect hereon; and if he do so, we think that he will be unable to find rest upon his bed.

"It now, however, appears, from an address presented by the said superintendent, that he objects to the copying and enjoining of these commands by the hong-merchants, on the ground of such copied document being unauthentic, without official seal or envelop, and so not giving him evidence [whereon to pay obedience to it; and also that he is apprehensive of transgressing the laws of his country. According to the established laws of the celestial empire, it is required, that in all matters wherein commands are given to the outer foreigners, such commands be enjoined through the medium of hong-merchants. And in this instance, moreover, the imperial pleasure was declared, specially requiring that the hong-merchants should be commanded to give directions and to act. Can any dare, then, not to pay respectful obedience thereto? The said nation of course has its own laws. But is it imagined, that the laws of outer barbarians can be practiced

in the domains of the celestial dynasty? What utter ignorance of the requirements of dignity is this!

Yet the representation, that it is impossible for him to communicate to his government such an unauthenticated document appears reasonable. And we, therefore, on this consideration act, on this occasion, as expediency dictates. We forthwith issue this document to you, the prefect of Kwángchau fú, requiring you immediately, in conjunction with the commander of forces in the department, to copy these our commands, and enjoin them on the said superintendent Elliot, that he may act in obedience thereto. He is required speedily to make known to the receiving-vessels anchored at Tsienshátsuy and other places, the imperial goodness, and also the imperial terrors; to set before them the choice of weal and woe: and to urge their speedy and entire departure for their country. There must be no contumacious opposition. The said superintendent is also to convey it to his king, that hereafter such receiving-vessels are to be prohibited ever again coming hither; and that only the merchant vessels trading in legally dutiable articles may come, while all contraband articles, such as the filthy opium, are not to be conveyed over the wide seas. Thus, the source of the evil may be closed, and the laws be held up to honor; thus, the universally beneficial and boundless favors of the great emperor, may, on the one hand, be conferred; and, on the other hand, the path of commercial intercourse may for ever be kept open to all good foreigners. We, the governor and lieutenant-governor hold a great power in our hands, and do that which we determine to do. What difficulty should we have in driving these vessels away with the utmost rigor? Yet we refuse not to repeat our admonitions again and again, fearing lest there should be any want of perfect faithfulness, and any consequent obstruction to the display of universally impartial benevolence.

"If, after this time of issuing our commands, the receiving-vessels again collect, as though we were not heard, and continue to remain looking around them, it will be manifest that amendment finds no place in the hearts of those concerned in them; and not only will they be no longer borne with by the great emperor, but by their own king also, they will certainly be subjected to trial. We cannot do otherwise than pursue them with the rigor of the laws, and show forth to all the celestial terrors. If the said superintendent fail to pay earnest obedience hereto, he also will draw on himself investigation and expulsion. All must with trembling anxiety attend. Further, let him be commanded to report as to the periods when these receiving-vessels severally depart for their country. Oppose not! Be earnest and speedy; earnest and speedy!"

We, the civil and military authorities of this department, having received the above, forthwith copy the commands of their excellencies the governor and lieutenant-governor, and send them to the said superintendent Elliot, requiring him to pay immediate obedience. (The remainder of the document is a repetition of the latter portion of the preceding commands, with but one addition, wherein they require captain Elliot to report again 'through the medium of the hong-merchants.') Be earnest and speedy; earnest and speedy! A special order. September 29th, 1837.—*Corresp.* pp. 237.240.

*October 5th.* The heads of the financial and judicial departments of the provincial government, issued a document regarding the amount and payment of the debts of the Hiugtái hong. *Can. Reg.* 24th Oct.

*November 4th.* The first annual report of the general committee of the Canton Chamber of Commerce, was approved at a general meeting. Vol. VI., p. 327.

*17th.* Under this date captain Elliot replied to the edict of the 25th of September, promising "to transmit it to his country by the rapid steam and overland communication." And then adds:

"He has already signified to your excellency with truth and plainness, that his commission extends only to the regular trade with this empire; and further, that the existence of any other than this trade has never yet been submitted to the knowledge of his own gracious sovereign. He will only permit himself to add, on this occasion, that circumstances of the kind described by your excellency, cannot be heard of without feelings of concern and apprehension: and he desires humbly to express an earnest hope that sure and safe means of remedying a hazardous state of things, may be speedily devised.

—*Corresp.* p. 240.

(Signed)

"CHARLES ELLIOT."

*19th.* The following communication affords no very favorable picture of the then existing "state of circumstances." It was, under this date addressed from captain Elliot to viscount Palmerston.

"My lord,—I now beg leave to resume the subject of my dispatch of yesterday's date. In the early part of this year, the project of immediately legalizing the traffic in opium was, without doubt, favorably entertained at the court; and, situated as we are, it is impossible to detect the particular management by which the postponement of the measure may have been achieved. We have now arrived, however, at a stage in the passage of circumstances when it appears to be necessary, that the subject should once more be drawn under your lordship's serious attention. The vigorous proceedings of the provincial government against the native smugglers at the outside anchorages in the immediate neighborhood of this port, have had the effect of vastly increasing the traffic on the eastern coasts of the neighboring province of Fukien. Till within the last few months that branch of the trade never afforded employment to more than two or three small vessels; but, at the date of this dispatch, and for some months past, there have not been less than twenty sail of vessels on the east coast; and I am sorry to add, that there is every reason to believe blood has been spilt in the interchange of shot which has ever and anon taken place between them and the mandarin boats:

"The most grave result of the vigilance upon the spot remains to be described. The native boats have been burned, and the native smugglers scattered; and the consequence is, as it was foreseen it would be, that a complete and very hazardous change has been worked in the whole manner of conducting the Canton portion of the trade. The opium is now carried on (and a great part of it inwards to Whampoa) in European passage-boats belonging to British owners, slenderly manned with Lascar seamen, and furnished with a scanty armament, which may rather be said to provoke or to justify search, accompanied by violence, than to furnish the means of effectual defense. I have no certain means of judging to what extent the shipping at Whampoa may be implicated in this new mode of carrying on the trade, but I am not without reason to believe, that they are so, and possibly in an increasing degree. And as your lordship is probably aware that the hong-merchant who secures each ship, and the captain and consignee,

join in a bond that she has no opium on board, it is needless to dwell upon the very embarrassing consequences which would ensue if the existence of a different state of facts should nevertheless be established.

"I am disposed to believe that the higher officers of the provincial government are perfectly sensible of the extensive smuggling of opium carried on in the European passage-boats, and from some motive, either of interest or policy, or probably of both, they oppose no immediate obstacle to such a condition of things. But the continuance of their inertness is not to be depended upon. Disputes among themselves for the shares of the emoluments, private reports against each other to the court, and, lastly, their ordinary practice of permitting abuse to grow to ripeness, and to rest in false security, are all considerations which forbid the hope that these things can endure.

"Setting aside, however, the interference of the mandarins, it is not to be questioned that the passage of this valuable article in small and insignificantly armed vessels afford an intense temptation to piratical attack by the many desperate smugglers out of employment, and by the needy inhabitants of the neighboring islands. And another Ladrone war directed against Europeans as well as Chinese is a perfectly probable event. In fact, my lord, looking around me, and weighing the whole body of circumstances as carefully as I can, it seems to me that the moment has arrived for such active interposition upon the part of her majesty's government as can be properly afforded; and that it cannot be deferred without great hazard to the safety of the whole trade, and of the persons engaged in its pursuit.

"The accompanying paper was originally intended as a memorandum of matter to be framed into a dispatch to your lordship; but several considerations dispose me to hope I shall be excused for transmitting it in its present form. That the main body of the inward trade (about three-fifths of the amount) should be carried on in so hazardous a manner to the safety of the whole commerce and intercourse with the empire, is a very disquieting subject of reflection; but I have a strong conviction, that it is an evil susceptible of early removal.

—*Corresp.* p. 241.242. "I have, &c. (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT."

Accompanying this, of the same date, was forwarded to the foreign office a long memorandum, proposing that her majesty address a letter to the emperor, and send it by a special commissioner, who should proceed to Chusan, there to confer with officers from Peking, and settle all difficulties. *Corresp.* p. 242.

21st. Dispatches, dated June 12th, 1837, were received by capt. Elliot, forbidding him to use the word *pin* in his addresses to the Chinese authorities. A long discussion ensued, and ended in an interruption of communications between the two governments. Vol. VI., p. 352. For a series of edicts against the opium trade, see vol. VI., p. 341, and sequel.

*December 2d.* The British flag was struck this morning by captain Elliot, hoisted in Canton on his arrival there on the 12th of April preceding.



4th. Under this date captain Elliot addressed a communication to viscount Palmerston, from which the following is an extract.

"In my mind, my lord, the peaceful establishment of direct official intercourse is no longer of questionable or difficult accomplishment. The principle that officers were not to reside in the empire, has been formally renounced by the emperor himself, and that was the main obstacle; the clearest admission of my right to direct sealed communications with the governor upon the ground of my official character, has been conceded; an official mistake in an edict describing me to be a merchant, has been publicly acknowledged and corrected; facilities (especially upon the plea that I was an officer, and involving a direct official intercourse with the mandarin here) have been accorded; striking proofs of the disposition to devolve upon me in my official capacity the adjustment of all disputes, even between Chinese and my own countrymen, have been afforded. On one occasion, the provincial government has already communicated with me in a direct official shape; and upon my late departure from Canton, it was easy to perceive that the governor was prepared to fall entirely into that course, upon the condition that I should waive the proposed change in the superscription of my address.

"When to these circumstances be joined the consideration that the provincial government has now been accustomed to a measured mode of official address, which it is certain has been more agreeable to it than the less guarded tone of irresponsible individuals, I think I may say, that it is probable the communications will be opened upon the required footing before the replies to these dispatches can arrive. But at all events, I entertain a persuasion that a letter from your lordship to the cabinet at Peking, written by her majesty's command, and sent to the mouth of the Pei ho in a ship-of-war, would at once draw from the emperor an order for the concession of the point. Your lordship's letter might be sent here for translation: and if communications were open, authority might be given to me to return it to England. If her majesty's government, however, should be of opinion that the proposition contained in my dispatch of November 19th, 1837, were deserving of attention, perhaps the object of direct official intercourse might form a part of the instructions to the special commissioner."—*Corresp.* p. 249.

Under date of June 15th, 1838, lord Palmerston shortly expresses the approval of her majesty's government of captain Elliot's course in retiring from Canton; and adds that

"With respect to the plan proposed by you in your dispatches of the 19th November, for sending a special commissioner to Chusan, to endeavor to effect some arrangement with the Chinese government about the opium trade, her majesty's government do not see their way in such a measure with sufficient clearness to justify them in adopting it at the present moment."

He also intimates that

"With respect to the smuggling trade in opium, which forms the subject of your dispatches of the 18th and 19th November, and 7th December, 1837, I have to state, that her majesty's government cannot interfere for the purpose of enabling British subjects to violate the laws of the country to which they trade. Any loss, therefore, which such persons may suffer in consequence of the more effectual

execution of the Chinese laws on this subject, must be borne by the parties who have brought that loss on themselves by their own acts."

30th. 'The governor and lieutenant-governor and hoppo addressed a memorial to the emperor, regarding the existing state of the contraband trade. Vol. VI. p. 473.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. II. *Hung Lau Mung, or Dreams in the Red Chamber; a novel.* 20 vols. duodecimo. Noticed by a Correspondent.

AMONGST the novels of the Chinese, this work holds a decidedly high rank. The author, after making many protestations of his inability to do justice to the subject; which indeed is the only truth in the book, commences his story, like the History of New York, with the creation of the world. 'To wit, there was once a being, man or woman cannot now be ascertained, called Nükwá, in which, by the way, several authors have supposed they had found some resemblance to that of our mother Eve. Now, this Nükwá, being of a thrifty disposition, undertook to repair the heavens with solid stones, a work of some difficulty, considering their height and airiness. But notwithstanding all this, the artificer succeeded, and made a very handsome piece of work, as is this day to be seen.

Nükwá had prepared 36,501 stones for the grand work, but there were only 36,500 wanted, the odd one was therefore thrown away. 'This discarded stone, however, perceiving itself to be devoid of talent and unfit for the splendid work to which its brethren had been applied, began to repine, and would have been overpowered by its grief, if, in the midst of its misfortunes, a priest of 'Táu and one of Budha had not come and paid it a visit. They observed that there was something curious in the stone, and soon found out, that its claims to superiority were very great. 'To avoid having it looked upon as a common stone, they set to work and graved an inscription, which set forth the excellency of the said stone. When finished, they went away, and nobody took any notice of the wonderful mineral, until a few kulpas, some of which were at least 100,000 years' duration, had passed away. 'Then it happened that another priest found the identical stone, and wondered at the long histories, that were engraved on its surface. He therefore asked him how this had come to pass, and

was told, that every event had been carefully noted down, and hence the long stories that astonished the ecclesiastic. He was, however, so much taken with the contents, that he immediately copied the whole, and made of it the present volumes. So much for the origin of this work, than which none other can boast a more ancient descent.

There lived at a city called Kúsú a wealthy man, the son of a magistrate, whose name was Chin Fí, or otherwise Chin Sz'yin. But one thing was wanting to make his happiness complete, for he had no son and only one daughter, whose name was Yiuglien, and at the time the story begins only three years of age. Once being tired with reading, Chin fell asleep on his seat, and saw in his dream two priests, both of whom gave him an account of the wonderful stone, and even presented it to him to look at. But at that moment he awoke, and perceived that it was only a dream. Hearing in the street a great noise, he saw two noisy, roistering priests, resembling those he had just seen in his dream, foretelling him his fate, and frightening him with the gloomy prospects, that should soon darken his brightest hopes. Now this man being of a very jovial disposition, had many visitors and friends, and amongst others a poor scholar, named Ká Yütsun. The latter having no money for paying the expenses of a journey to the capital, was likely to lead a life of obscurity for the remainder of his days, if Chin had not generously advanced him fifty taels, with which sum he set out for the court.

In the meanwhile, one calamity upon another befell the unfortunate Chin. His darling little daughter had disappeared, and could nowhere be found; the house also caught fire during an illumination and burnt down, so that he was obliged to proceed with his wife to his father-in-law's. Here he bought, with the remainder of his property a little estate, and as he did not understand agriculture everything went to ruin. When therefore a mad Táu priest announced to him more fortunate days, he instantly followed him, leaving his wife in a most distressing situation. She found, however, a kind friend in Ká, the literati, who by her husband's kind assistance had passed the examinations, and having become the magistrate of that district, had married her maid. Cruelty and worthless behavior, however, brought him in bad odor, and he was finally accused of malversation, and lost his office. Being of a buoyant disposition, he laughed at his misfortune, and became a wanderer in the empire.

Under such circumstances, Ká met a friend, who had become a salt inspector, and heard from him a relation of the wonderful events which had befallen his own family. Whilst thus enjoying themselves,

there arrived tidings of his restoration to office, and he therefore set out for the capital, taking with him the little daughter of his host, T'aiyu, a child of great learning and intelligence. The author gives us a great idea of the splendor reigning in the capital, which we suppose to be for the most part imaginative. On reëssuming his dignity, Ká was considerably startled with a case of violence committed towards an unoffending female. This innocent damsel had been sold to a party, but the wretch that kidnapped her, disposed of the girl a second time, to a young unprincipled man, of high birth and powerful connections. The former purchaser would however not so easily part with her, and therefore to obtain possession of the treasure some force was used, and a man killed in the scuffle. The gentleman was therefore accused as the murderer, and brought before Ká. The latter did not hesitate to pronounce judgment, but the difficulty was, how to execute the sentence. On further examination he found, that the delinquent had such influential friends, that the slightest proceedings against him would involve the magistrate in immediate disgrace, and no measures for his apprehension could therefore be taken. At this juncture it was ascertained, that the unfortunate girl, who had occasioned so much noise, was Yinglien, the kidnapped daughter of Chin Sz'yn, a circumstance which increased the anger of Ká, on account of his being unable to rescue her from her debauched suitor, though then but a child.

The story becomes now more intricate. We are first made acquainted with the state of female society amongst the higher classes, and the general pursuits of these ladies. They seem to be after all the most trivial beings, chattering like magpies about nothing curious, and peering into every nook and corner, the while doing mischief, and exercising kindness by turns. There is no end to finery, gewgaws, knicknacks, and dress, and the young ladies freely express their opinions about all these matters.

As an episode, we find at last a dream in the red chamber. The individual is the lady Páuyu. She lies down to sleep, is met by a nymph, and instantly carried into the fairy land. Everything that can create delight is there presented to her wondering eye. Of jaspers, rubies, and pearls there is no end. There are sparkling fountains of clear nectar, trees that bear ambrosia, and nymphs of perfect beauty, and exquisite form to wait upon the stranger. But all this could not satiate the visitor; she must have some amusement for her mind. To this end she is first shown into a spacious hall containing sundry scrolls, with many curious inscriptions, consisting of sublime

poetry and laconic distiches. Being a great admirer of literature, Páuyu prolongs her stay in the palace, and is made acquainted with the records of destiny, in the examination of which she never tires. Actuated by curiosity, she attentively peruses its pages, and thus becomes versed in futurity. In the height of her enjoyment, however, she utters an involuntary shriek, and is awakened by her maid servants.

From these trifles we are led to death-bed scenes. The king of terrors himself is never mentioned, but the physician stands prominent. Desirous to rescue his friends from the fangs of death, the doctor exhibits his simples and compounds, but it happened by some mischance that the patient took too much, and died of a surfeit of drugs. The physician knew how to excuse himself, and so the misfortune was charged to the disease.

In the intrigues the acting characters behave very grossly, and this part of the work fully shows the coarseness of the author's mind. The monotony of the story is much relieved by scraps of poetry, put in very opportunely. When a number of ladies are assembled, they generally compose, and inscribe their verses upon a wall or some other conspicuous object, and then make the contents a topic of conversation.

Amidst this joyous mode of living, there arrived among the party, who were all relations of Ká, or the daughters and sisters of his friends, an imperial decree to choose one amongst the number to enter the harem. This event made the whole company delirious with joy, it was such an amazing honor, and fraught with so many benefits to the whole family, that preparations for a splendid outfit were immediately made, and the fortunate damsel was then conveyed to the imperial apartments. Such elevation usually confers upon the relations titles of nobility, and they were on this occasion by no means sparingly bestowed. Thus the happiness of the circle increased daily, and they endeavored to chase every latent sorrow from their hearts. These ladies were, however, not always confined to their apartments. They not only visited their friends, and corresponded with the imperial favorite, but made long rambling excursions to the most romantic spots of the neighborhood. On these occasions they carried with them paper and ink, to write down the inspirations suggested by the beautiful scenery. It was then that their hearts expanded, and they expressed the most ardent love for each other. One peculiar taste marked their literary propensities, they would always choose the inscriptions on stones, and decypher them, for on these they supposed

the wisdom of ages to be recorded, and the writings thus collected they made the theme of lively conversation. On these occasions their sentiments often differed, for all was guess work, and like critics of old manuscripts, they very freely gave their opinions. Their usual occupations consisted in study and writing, thrumming the guitar, or playing chess, drawing, composing poetry, or embroidering flowers. Whilst, however, fortune smiled upon them, they did not forget the poor family of Chin, to whom they sent no less than 40,000 taels, as a debt of gratitude, for what the unfortunate man had done to the head of the Ká family when in distress.

At this point, the story grows more and more uninteresting, and contains scarcely anything, but the tittle tattle of the female apartment. These ladies, when left to their own society become very tiresome to their friends as well as to themselves. On a visit to the imperial favorite, the damsels found several nuns in the neighborhood of the harem, who burnt incense and lamps in honor of the idols. On inquiry they were informed, that it was the custom of the inmates of the palace, to choose a favorite idol, and to make a certain allowance of oil, in order to propitiate his favor by the constant burning of a lamp. This edifying example so much operated upon the young lasses, that they came forward with a subscription, and had their idol and lamp. This custom we think is still upheld in the precincts of the palace; the officiating clergy are lamas, who also act like father confessors, and often disturb the peace of the ladies.

The leading character amongst the inmates of Ká's family, was a very petulant woman, who committed many freaks, which involved herself as well as the others in considerable difficulties. It was the same Páuyu who had had the dream in the Red Chamber. On a certain day she had teased a waiting-maid so much, that the girl was driven to despair, and threw herself into a well. This circumstance increased the wrath of the magistrate, and without listening to the remonstrances of the other ladies, he had Páuyu brought to the hall of office, and so severely bamboozed, that she was more dead than alive. But the worthy mandarin soon found out, that he had put his hand into a wasp's nest, which should be a warning to all whom it may concern, never to meddle too much with ladies' affairs. Whilst her beautiful form was lying on the ground, covered with stripes, his own mother came with a number of shrews; and attacked him with such bitter reproaches, even threatening to show fight, that the now vanquished judge, was fain to retire with all haste. Some of the women, however, actually conspired to take his part, and to kill Páu-

yu from sheer envy, for which, in case of accusation, they were ready to pay a heavy mulct to escape punishment. But these schemes were never put into execution, and Páuyu lived to laugh at her rivals. A spirit of contention and hatred had thus been kindled, and brawls in the house were frequent, which sometimes rose to blows, much to the scandal of the maid-servants.

From the description we have of the arrangements in the imperial harem, it does by no means appear that the women are carefully watched, but that their relations have free access. One scene is very characteristic of the establishment. The first physician of his imperial majesty was called to ascertain the various complaints of the dear inmates. He was a man of considerable patience and skill, but the immense number of applicants quite overpowered him. Every one of them had to ask his advice; some he gravely told, there was nothing the matter with them; to others he gave a few pills, and was very glad at last to escape from them altogether.

On a certain spring day, they left their respective homes and repaired to a garden to enjoy the fragrant flowers. It was here their spirits warmed, and vented themselves in curious poetical effusions upon the beauties of Flora. This is a favorite pastime of the higher classes of Chinese, and in all situations in life, they are fond of pouring out their hearts in high flown poetry, understood only by the initiated. Amongst their amusements, the voice of wisdom is occasionally heard from an old matron. There appeared a suitor for the hand of her accomplished daughter, who pretended to be a scholar, and had in fact read many books. The dame was not so soon taken with the proposal, but examined into the merits of the swain. He had learning, but nothing else. She therefore turned towards the scholar, and said, "endeavor to practice what you have learned, for the benefit of the nation, and then you will be welcome to my house and home; so long however as you are a pedant, dare not to ask for the honor of becoming my son-in-law:" and with this wholesome advice, the old woman dismissed him.

Most of the discourses of the elderly people turn upon marriage, and the best means of settling their daughters in life. Instances are not wanting of girls choosing a partner for themselves, whom they had never seen before, declare their intention to their mothers, and then entreat them to send the matchmaker to the family of the swain elect. Such proceedings are by no means considered indelicate, and to make the story short, the two mistresses of the respective families meet over a cup of tea, and arrange the preliminaries. There ap-

pears to be a good deal of over-reaching in this matter, and many a promise of a rich dowry to be bestowed upon the parents of the bride, is dexterously evaded.

Ká, the magistrate, was living in affluence, and his daughter so clever in writing poetry, attracted a great deal of attention. Go-betweens passed to and fro, but the fair damsel reluctantly refused her hand, until a powerful family wanted to force her into an union. All the efforts to obtain her being in vain, the head of this house resolved upon ruining the officer, and for this purpose made him pay heavy fines. Ká himself not having the means of meeting the constant demands, was finally obliged to take from the public treasury, and when the accounts were demanded he was found a defaulter. His enemy however did not obtain his heart's wish, and the match was not concluded.

Two other girls of the coterie were betrothed to faithless lovers, and felt a deep grief on seeing their affections slighted. On the appointed time for accompanying them home, they upbraided the gentlemen in no very measured terms, and declared that they would never become their partners. But as the bridegrooms grew very pressing, the girls asked a little respite to retire to their rooms, and when alone they cut their throats, as being the least evil of the two.

Páuyu, that busy lady, on seeing her friends one after the other departing this life, felt rather lonely, and to prove her great attachment to her former companions, she went to sacrifice at their graves, and rehearsed a splendid funeral oration. It is sometimes customary among the Chinese, whenever a person of importance has departed this life, for one of the sorrowing friends to go to the grave, and recapitulate the merits of the deceased. This female panygerist was however far more eloquent than many a statesman, who is purposely deputed to bury a compeer, and her praises made the departed an angel in human form.

A trial of manslaughter fills a great many pages, and probably details Chinese law proceedings pretty accurately. The individual was accidentally slain by one of his boon companions in a pot-house. To avoid all difficulties, the guilty party endeavored to hush up matters, but a near relation of the deceased insisted upon having blood for blood. Witnesses appearing before the magistrate, a solemn appeal was made to him in open court, and when the culprit endeavored to excuse himself, the incensed officer uttered dire threats and denunciations. This was a broad hint to the accused, and his friends immediately resolved to put an end to this cause by a considerable



bribe. One present, however, could not altogether stay the proceedings, and it would indeed have gone hard with the defendant, if a cunning person had not taken the lead in the affair, and suited the gifts to the occasion, keeping the officer constantly in suspense, and causing him to be anxious to defer the sentence. At a critical juncture in the case, the emperor went on a visit to his ancestral tombs, and his pilgrimage obliging all officers to leave their offices in order to accompany the monarch, the trial was arrested, and the manslayer escaped with his life.

Mention is frequently made of nuns, to whom the ladies repaired under difficult circumstances, both for asking their advice, as well as for begging their intercession before the idols. They however held these women in very low estimation, and treated them as slaves. One of the fair ones having a desire to become a recluse, was conveyed to a temple, and well received by the sisterhood. But on passing one night she heard dreadful noises which repeatedly awakened her from sleep, and she was anxious to discover the cause, but could not find it out. Finally she remembered, that she was in the region of spirits, and that these unruly beings held their carousals during the night. Trembling she sunk upon her couch, and having passed a most wretched night, declared on the following morning that she would not prolong her stay on any account, and took her departure forthwith. In general we find the ladies superstitious, and fond of using incantations, amulets, and philtres.

At the end of the work, we are again introduced to our old acquaintances, of whom we had lost sight in the middle of the story. There are the priests, the stone, Nükwá, the hill where it had been lying, and an explanation of the influence it exercised upon the lives of our heroes and heroines.

Having brought this tedious story to a conclusion, in expressing our opinion about the literary merits of the performance, we may say that the style is without any art, being literally the spoken language of the higher classes in the northern provinces. Some words that are used in a sense different from that in ordinary writings, and others are formed for the occasion, to express provincial sounds. But after reading one volume, the sense is easily understood, and whosoever wishes to familiarize himself with the manner of speaking the northern court dialect, may peruse the work with advantage.

ART. III. *Lecture on the War with China, delivered before the Massachusetts Historical Society, December, 1841.* By the hon.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS of Mass., U. S. A. Extracted from an American paper.

THE existing state of the relations between the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the empire of China, opens for discussion questions of deep interest to the whole human race; and of pre-eminent interest to the people of the North American union. Great Britain and China are at war. The questions which immediately rise for consideration, in this conflict between two of the mightiest nations of the globe, are—

1. Which of the two parties to the contest has the righteous cause?
2. What are the prospects of its progress and termination?
3. How are the interests of other nations, and particularly of the United States, already, or likely to be hereafter, affected by it?
4. What are the duties of the government and people of the United States resulting from it?

For the solution of the first of these questions, we must resort to a statement of the facts in which the controversy originated, and for a candid application to those facts, of the laws of nature and of nations.

But before entering upon the inquiry, it may be proper to remark that an eminent French writer upon the subject of international law has contended that there can be no such thing, and he makes it a subject of grave and serious charge against the English language itself, that it applies the word law to the obligations incumbent upon nations. His argument is that law is a rule of conduct prescribed by a superior—a legislator, that is, an act of government, deriving its force from sovereign authority, and binding only upon the subject. That nations, being independent, acknowledge no superior, and have no common sovereign from whom they can receive the law. That all the relative duties between nations result from right and wrong, from conventions or compact, and from usage or custom, to neither of which can the term *law* be properly applied. That this system of rules had been called by the Romans the *jus gentium*, and in all the languages of modern Europe, the right of nations, or the rights of war and peace. Upon the rigorous analysis of the meaning of words it must be admitted that there is much force in this objection. Law and right, we know but too well by the experience of mankind in all ages, including our own, are not convertible terms. *Law* necessarily implies command on one part, and obedience on the other. *Right* is the gift of the Creator to man, at once the charter of his own freedom, and the law of his reverence for the same right of his fellow creature, man. In this sense right and law are convertible terms—but the law is the law of God, and the right is the right of man.

It is urged by the writer to whom I now allude, that the nations speaking the English language, by the use of this word law to express the rules of intercourse between nations, have habituated themselves to confound it with the municipal law of their own realm; and to infer that the same legislative authority which is competent to make the laws of the land for them, is equally competent to prescribe laws for all the nations of the earth.

How far this reproach of a French writer upon the freedom of the seas, (Rayneval) is justified by the facts which he alleges in its support, is not now my purpose, nor have we time to inquire. It behooves us however to remember that the English language is now the mother tongue, not of one, but of many nations, and that whatever portion of them believe that the fountain of all human legislation is the omnipotence of the British parliament, we as one of those nations acknowledge no such supremacy. We think, with the great jurist of our mother country, that the omnipotence of the British parliament is a figure of speech rather too bold, and the first declaration of the act of our existence as a separate nation, was, self-evident, inalienable rights of all men by the laws of nature and of nature's God. This is the only omnipotence to which we bow the knee, as the only source, direct or indirect of all human legislation, and that thus the laws of nations are identical with the rights of men associated in independent communities.

The practical organization of our social system is not altogether consistent with our theory of the law of nature and of nature's God, which has given to all men the inalienable right to liberty. The existence of slavery is incompatible with that law of nature.

But we speak the English language, and what the men of other tongues call the right of nations, we call the law of nations. What then are the laws of nature by the rules of which the right and wrong of the present contest between Great Britain and China are to be ascertained? And here we are to remember, that by the laws of nations are to be understood not one code of laws, binding alike upon all the nations of the earth, but a system of rules, varying according to the character and condition of the parties concerned. The general law of nations is derived from four distinct sources, denominated by Vattel the necessary, voluntary, conventional, and customary, laws of nations. The necessary law is the application of the law of nature to the intercourse between independent communities, and this itself can be enforced only between nations who recognize the principle that the state of nature is a state of peace. It is a religious principle of the Mohammedan nations, that it is their duty to propagate their religion by the sword. Time was, when their cruel, absurd, and unnatural principle was inscribed on the holy banners of the meek and lowly Jesus. The vision of Constantine himself who seated Christianity upon the throne of the Cæsars—the vision by which he pretended to have been converted to the faith of the blessed Gospel, falsified all its commands, and perverted its nature. The cross of Christ was exhibited before his eyes, and the words inscribed upon it were, "By this conquer"—conquer, persecute, enslave, destroy, kindle the fires of the holy fraternities, burn the heretic at the stake, tear his nerves to atoms by the rack, hunt him with blood-hounds, pluck out his vitals and slap them in his face—all for the salvation of his soul—by this conquer!

By the law of nations between those communities, subscribers to this creed, the bishop of Rome, the self-styled servant of servants, by the seal of the fisherman's ring, was for many ages invested with authority to distribute all the kingdoms of the earth, out of the pale of Christianity, to whomsoever he pleased. And accordingly in January, 1445, his holiness, Nicholas V. did, of his own proper motion, without petition from any one, by his mere liberality and certain knowledge, after full deliberation and in the plenitude of apostolic power, give, grant, and convey the whole kingdom of Guinea, and all its negro inhabitants, to Alphonso, king of Portugal, and his son, the infanta, Don Henry, and their heirs and successors

for ever: and forty years after, in 1493, Alexander VI., the Nero of the papal chair, the year after the discovery by Christopher Columbus of the western hemisphere, did in like manner give and grant the same hemisphere to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. This was about twenty-five years before the publication of the thirty-five theses of Martin Luther at the university of Wittenberg. That was the law of nations between Christian communities of that day. Since the protestant reformation, the power of the pope to distribute kingdoms at his pleasure is hardly an article of the law of nations, even among Catholic communities. Yet even now there is a law of nations between Roman Catholics, strictly confined to them, and which is of no validity for any other portion of the human race.

There is also a law of nations between Christian communities, which prevails between the Europeans and their descendants throughout the globe. This is the law recognized by the constitution of the United States, as obligatory upon them in their intercourse with European states and colonies. But we have a separate and different law of nations for the regulation of our intercourse with the Indian tribes of our own continent. Another law of nations between us and the woolly-headed natives of Africa—another with the Barbary powers and the sultan of the Ottoman empire—a law of nations with the inhabitants of the isles of the sea, wherever human industry and enterprise have explored the geography of the globe; and lastly, a law of nations with the flowery land, the celestial empire, the Manthou-Tartar dynasty of despotism, where the patriarchal system of sir Robert Filmer flourishes in all its glory. And this is the heathen nation with which the imperial Christian realm of Great Britain and Ireland, is waging a war, in which all or many others of the Christian nations of the earth, and among the rest our United States of America, are in imminent danger of being involved.

The law of nations then, by which the right and wrong of the present contest is to be tried, is, as between the parties themselves, the general and necessary law of nations, but as it may effect the other Christian nations whose rights are involved in the issue, it is the Christian law of nations which must furnish the principles for discussion.—It may be necessary to remember this distinction.

By the law of nature, the rights of property result from two sources, occupancy and labor—occupancy gives possession, and confers the exclusive right to its fruits—but possession is either temporary or permanent. It may be exclusive or common. Possession may be permanently maintained of that which can be carried about with the person. The occupancy of the soil to give the right to the soil must be permanent, at least for a season; to be permanent, it must be divided by metes and bounds; and this can be effected only by agreement. The right of property being thus established by labor, by occupancy, and by compact, the right of exchange, barter, or in other words of commerce, necessarily follows. If the state of nature between men is a state of peace, and the pursuit of happiness is a natural right of man's, it is the duty of man to contribute as much as is in his power to one another's happiness. This is emphatically enjoined by the Christian precept to love your neighbor as yourself; now there is no other way by which men can so much contribute to the comfort and well-being of one another as by commerce or mutual exchanges of equivalents. Commerce is then among the natural rights and duties of men—and if of individuals, still more of communities, for as by the law of nature every man, though he love his neighbor as himself, must provide for his own preservation and that of his family, before he can minister to the wants of his neighbor, it follows that he can give in exchange to his

neighbor only the excess of the fruit of his labor beyond that which is necessary for his and their subsistence. The exchange itself may indeed be of necessaries, and that leads to the division of labor, one of the greatest blessings of association ; but that cannot be without commerce.

This duty of commercial intercourse between nations is laid down in terms sufficiently positive by Vattel, but he afterwards qualifies it by a restriction which unless itself restricted, annuls it altogether. He says, that although the general duty of commercial intercourse is incumbent upon nations, yet every nation may exclude any particular branch or article of trade which it may deem injurious to its own interest. This cannot be denied. But then a nation may multiply these particular exclusions until they become general and equivalent to a total interdict of commerce, and this, time out of mind, has been the inflexible policy of the Chinese empire. So says Vattel, without affixing any note of censure upon it. Yet it is manifestly incompatible with the position which he had previously laid down, that commercial intercourse between nations is a moral obligation incumbent upon them all.

The empire of China is said to extend over three hundred millions of human beings. It is said to cover a space of seven millions of square miles ; about four times larger than the surface of these United States. The people are not Christians. Nor can a Christian nation appeal to the principles of a common faith to settle the question of right and wrong between them. The moral obligation of commercial intercourse between nations is founded entirely, exclusively, upon the Christian precept to love your neighbor as yourself. With this principle you cannot refuse commercial intercourse with your neighbor, because commerce, consisting of a voluntary exchange of property mutually beneficial to both parties, excites in both the selfish and the social propensities, and enables each of the parties to promote the happiness of his neighbors by the same act whereby he provides for his own. But China, not being a Christian nation, its inhabitants do not consider themselves bound by the Christian precept, to love their neighbors as themselves. The right of commercial intercourse with them reverts not to the execrable principle of Hobbes that the state of nature is a state of war, where every one has a right to buy, but no one is obliged to sell. Commerce becomes altogether a matter of convention. The right of each party is only to propose—that of the other is to accept or refuse, and to his result he may be guided exclusively by the consideration of his own interest, without regard to the interests, the wishes, or the other wants of his neighbor.

This is a churlish and unsocial system ;—and I take occasion here to say that whoever examines the Christian system of morals, with a philosophical spirit, setting aside all the external and historical evidences of its truth, will find all its precepts tending to exalt the nature of the animal man ; all its purpose of peace on earth and goodwill towards men. Ask the atheist—the deist—the Chinese, and they will tell you that the foundation, of their system of morals is selfish enjoyment. Ask the philosophers of the Grecian schools—Epicurus, Socrates, Zeno, Plato, Lucretius, Cicero, Seneca, and you will find them discoursing upon the Supreme Good. They will tell you it is pleasure, ease, temperance, prudence, fortitude, justice, not one of them will whisper the name of love, unless in its gross and physical sense ; as an instrument of pleasure, not one of them will tell you that the source of all moral relation between you and the rest of mankind is to love your neighbor as yourself—to do unto him as you would that he should do unto you.

The Chinese recognize no such law. Their internal government is a hereditary patriarchal despotism, and their own exclusive interest is the measure of all their relations with the rest of mankind. Their own government is founded upon the principle, that as a nation they are superior to the rest of mankind. They believe themselves and their country especially privileged over all others—that their dominion is the celestial empire, and their territory the flowery land. At a period of their history so remote that they have no authentic records of the times,\* to make their separation from the rest of the world more effectual, they built a wall 1500 miles long between themselves and their next neighbors, the Tartars, which however has not saved them from being more than once conquered. The last time that this happened was in the year 1644, and the second century is about closing upon the dominion of the Mantehou Tartars. That conquest however produced no other revolution of government than the transfer of the imperial sceptre from one family to another. It is a remark of Hume that if the conquest of France by Henry V. had been maintained by his successors, the result would have been to convert England into a French province; such in the natural course of events must be the result of the conquest of a larger by a smaller adjoining people. And this is precisely what has happened with China and Tartary. The principle of the Chinese government is, that the whole nation is one great family, of which the emperor is the father. His authority is unlimited, and he can, not only appoint such of his sons as he pleases to succeed him, but may even transfer the succession to another family. Idol worship, polygamy, infanticide, are the natural consequences of such a system within the realm, and the assumption of a pretension to superiority over all other nations regulates their intercourse with foreigners.

To the Greeks and Romans of antiquity, the very existence of the Chinese nation was unknown. The first notice of them received by the Europeans of the middle ages, was from the Venetian Marco Polo in the 13th century. When the Portuguese two hundred years later found the way round the cape of Good Hope to India, they soon pushed forward their navigation and their enterprise along the whole coast of China. They were allowed to trade for several years at various ports; but abusing this privilege and their navigating power, they were excluded from all access to the empire. A few years later the coast was infested by pirates. One of these named Ching Chílung obtained possession of the island of Macao; others held the whole coast in a state of blockade, and besieged Canton, itself destitute of all naval power. The officers of the celestial empire were obliged to have recourse to those very Portuguese to defend and deliver their country from the depredation of a single bold and desperate pirate. They sent from Sanceian, where they had a trading establishment, an expedition which raised the siege of Canton, and drove Ching Chílung back to Macao, where to escape from the fate which awaited him, had he fallen into the hands of his pursuers, he died by his own hands. In reward for this service, the emperor of

\* The Great Wall was built about B. C. 240, by the emperor Chí Hwángtí of the Tsin dynasty. He was cotemporary with Hannibal. The Chinese records of this event are among the most authentic they have, for this emperor stands pre-eminent for his power and his conquests.—*Ed. Chi. Rep.*

† In our humble opinion, these consequences can hardly be said to follow, because the emperor's authority is unlimited, nor do we exactly see how they grow out of it at all: the power of the emperor of Russia is probably as unlimited as that of his imperial brother at Peking, but these evils are surely not general in his dominions.—*Ed. Chi. Rep.*

China gave to the Portuguese the island of Macao, which they hold to this day, and from which station they, and the other navigating nations of Christendom, have carried on their commercial intercourse with the interior of China.\*

This grant, in full sovereignty of an island at the very entrance of the China seas, to a foreign and Christian power, would seem to be a wide departure from the fundamental system of excluding all foreigners from admission within the empire, but it was in truth a necessary consequence of that system. The seclusion of the empire from all other nations was a necessary renunciation of all maritime enterprize, and all naval armament. The coast was thus left defenseless against the assaults of single desperate adventurers. The traffic which the Portuguese solicited, was altogether advantageous to the Chinese. The Portuguese brought gold, silver, and precious stones. They took away silks, nankeens, porcelain, varnish, medicinal plants and tea, the produce of the soil and manufacturing industry of the country. A small island upon the coast as a permanent abode for the Portuguese traders, given to them as a possession, was a compromise for their claim of admission to the territory necessary for carrying on that importation of the precious metals, and that exportation of Chinese industry, the benefits of which could not but be felt, and could not be overlooked.

Other navigating Christian nations followed in the wake of the Portuguese. The Spaniards, the Dutch, the English, the French, and the Danes,—successively came as rival competitors for the lucrative commerce. It was chiefly, though not always confined to the port of Canton, but no European was ever admitted within the walls of that city. The several trading nations were allowed to establish small factories, as counting-houses, on the banks of the river without the city; but they were never suffered to enter within the gates, they were not permitted to introduce even a woman into their factory. All their intercourse with the subordinate government of the province was carried on through the medium of a dozen Chinese traders denominated the hong-merchants. All their remonstrances against wrong, or claims of right, must be transmitted not directly to the government, but through the hong, in the form of humble supplication called by the Chinese a *pin*—and all must be content to receive the answers of the viceroys in the form of edicts in which they, their sovereigns, and their nations, were invariably styled “outside barbarians;”—and the highest compliment to their kings was to declare them reverently submissive to his imperial majesty, monarch of the Celestial empire,—and father of the Flowery land. It is humiliating to think that not only the proudest monarch of Europe, but the most spirited and enlightened and valorous nations of Christendom have submitted to this tone, and these principles of intercourse, so long as to have given them; if prescription could give them, a claim of right, and a color of conformity to the law of nature.

There are three principles of the law of nature applied to nations, laid down in the preliminary chapter to Vattel's treatise, a close attention to which is indispen-

\* For notices of the travelers who visited China before Marco Polo, and the intercourse carried on with this people, see Chi. Rep., vol. III., page 107. There is, also, in this paragraph some confusion regarding the doings of the pirates, one or two of whom are confounded. Ching Chilung died in Peking. But see Chi. Rep. vol. III., page 64, and Ljungstedt's Macao, page 12, for an account of this and other pirates, and the tenure by which the Portuguese obtained and still hold Macao. Nor is it from this port alone that the other navigating nations of Christendom have carried on their commercial intercourse with China.—*Ed. Chi. Rep.*

sably necessary to the adjustment of the question of right and wrong in the issue of fact between the British and Chinese governments :

"The first general law, which the very end of the society of nations discovers, is that each nation ought to contribute all in its power to the happiness and perfection of others."—"But the duty towards ourselves having incontestibly the advantage over our duty with respect to others, a nation ought in the first place, preferably to all other considerations, to do whatever it can to promote its own happiness and perfection." Here is a fallacy. The first and vital principle of Christian morality is to love your neighbor as yourself—to do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. It does not permit you to promote your own happiness and perfection in preference to all other considerations. It makes your neighbor's happiness, so far as your action is concerned, a part of your own. It does not permit you to sacrifice his happiness to yours, any more than yours to his. The importance of this distinction will be seen—by referring to the second and third preliminaries laid down by the same author, and by deducing the consequences inferable from them all.

"Nations being free and independent of each other, in the same manner as men are free and independent,—the second general law of their society is, that each nation ought to be left in the peaceable enjoyment of that liberty it has derived from nature. From this liberty and independence, it follows that every nation is to judge of what its conscience demands, of what it can or cannot do, of what is proper or improper to be done; and consequently to organize and determine, whether it can perform any office for another without being wanting in what it owes to itself."

Now for the third general law. "Since men are naturally equal, and their rights and obligations are the same, as equally proceeding from nature, nations composed of men, considered as so many free persons living together in a state of nature, are naturally equal, and receive from nature the same obligations and rights." Hence, "If it [a nation] makes an ill use of its liberty, it offends; but others ought to suffer it to do so, having no right to command it to do otherwise. The nation that has acted wrong, has offended against its conscience, but as it may do whatever it has a right to perform it cannot be accused of violating the laws of society."

Let us separate the question of right and wrong, from that of the right of either party to compel by force the performance of right by the other, and how stand these three corner stones of Vattel's laws of nations towards each other? If it be true that each nation ought to contribute all in its power to the happiness and perfection of others, how can it be true that a nation ought in the first place, and preferable to all other considerations, to do whatever in can to promote its own happiness and perfection, and to be the exclusive judge of what that is? If the vital principle of all human society be that each is bound to contribute to the happiness of all, it surely follows that each cannot regulate his conduct by the exclusive or even by the paramount consideration of his own interest. In applying his own principles to the cultivation of commerce, Vattel begins by laying it down as a moral obligation. He says expressly, that nations are obliged to cultivate the home-trade—because it promotes the welfare of the community—and, "From the same reason, drawn from the welfare of the state, and to procure for the citizens everything they want, a nation is obliged to promote and



carry on a foreign trade." And yet, because every one has a right to buy, and every one an equal right to refuse to sell, therefore every nation, having exclusively, or in preference to all other considerations, regard to its own interest, has a right to interdict all commerce with other nations. Here is a manifest inconsistency between the two principles. The vital principle of commerce is reciprocity; and although in all cases of traffic, each party acts for himself and for the promotion of his own interest, the duty of each is to hold commercial intercourse with the other—not from exclusive or paramount consideration of his own interest, but from a joint and equal moral consideration of the interests of both. If the object of any particular traffic is advantageous to one party, and injurious to the other, then the party suffering has an unquestionable right to interdict the trade, not from exclusive or paramount consideration of his own interest, but because the traffic no longer fulfills the condition which makes commercial intercourse a duty.

The fundamental principle of the Chinese empire is anti-commercial. It is founded entirely upon the second and third of Vattel's general principles, to the total exclusion of the first. It admits no obligation to hold commercial intercourse with others. It utterly denies the equality of other nations with itself, and even their independence. It holds itself to be the centre of the terraqueous globe, equal to the heavenly host, and all other nations with whom it has any relations, political or commercial, as outside tributary barbarians reverently submissive to the will of its despotic chief. It is upon this principle, openly avowed and inflexibly maintained, that the principal maritime nations of Europe for several centuries, and the United States of America from the time of their acknowledged independence, have been content to hold commercial intercourse with the empire of China.

It is time that this enormous outrage upon the rights of human nature, and upon the first principle of the rights of nations, should cease. These principles of the Chinese empire, too long connived at and truckled to by the mightiest Christian nations of the civilized world, have at length been brought into conflict with the principles and the power of the British empire; and I cannot forbear to express the hope that Britain, after taking the lead in the abolition of the African slave trade and of slavery, and of the still more degrading tribute to the Barbary African Mohammedans, will extend her liberating arm to the farthest bound of Asia, and at the close of the present contest insist upon concluding the peace on terms of perfect equality with the Chinese empire, and that the future commerce shall be carried on upon terms of equality and reciprocity between the two communities, parties to the trade, for the benefit of both, each retaining the right of prohibition and of regulation, to interdict any article or branch of trade injurious to itself, as, for example, the article of opium; and to secure itself against the practices of fraudulent traders and smugglers.

This is the truth, and I apprehend the only question at issue between the governments and nations of Great Britain and China. It is a general, but I believe altogether mistaken opinion, that the quarrel is merely for certain chests of opium imported by British merchants into China, and seized by the Chinese government for having been imported contrary to law. This is a mere incident to the dispute; but no more the cause of the war, than the throwing overboard of the tea in Boston harbor was the cause of the North American revolution.

The cause of the war is the pretension on the part of the Chinese, that in all their intercourse with other nations, political or commercial, their superiority must be implicitly acknowledged, and manifested in humiliating forms. It is not credit-

able to the great, powerful and enlightened nations of Europe, that for several centuries they have, for the sake of profitable trade, submitted to these insolent and insulting pretensions, equally contrary to the first principles of the law of nature and of revealed religion—the natural equality of mankind—

*Auri sacra fames, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?*

This submission to insult is the more extraordinary for being practiced by Christian nations, which, in their intercourse with one another, push the principle of equality and reciprocity to the minutest punctilios of forms. Is a treaty to be concluded between the British and Russian empire, it must be in both their languages, or in a third, agreed upon by the parties. The copies of the same treaty are to be so varied that each of the parties is first named in the copy retained by itself; the signatures of the plenipotentiaries must either be in parallel lines or alternate in their order upon the two copies. Duels have been fought between ambassadors of two European courts to the monarch of a third, for the precedence of admission to his presence; and in the reign of Charles II., a bloody battle was fought in the streets of London between the retinues of a French and a Spanish ambassador, in a struggle between the two coachmen, which should lead the other in a procession.

Among the expedients to which the British government had resorted to hide their faces from the shame of submission to their principle of commercial intercourse with China, was that of granting the monopoly of trade to a company of merchants. The charter of the East India Company was the instrument of this monopoly; and as the Company possessed none of the attributes of sovereignty, whatever compliances their thirst for gain might reconcile with their self-esteem as men or their pride as Britons, was supposed to involve no sacrifice of the national honor and dignity. They submitted, therefore, to accept the permission to trade with the people of China, as a boon granted to their humble supplication, called a *pin*. But their trade was to be confined to the single port of Canton, in an empire of seven millions of square miles, with a population of 360,000,000 of souls. Even into that city of Canton no British subject was ever to be suffered to get his foot. They were permitted to erect, on the banks of the river below the city, the buildings necessary for a counting-house, over which they might display the degraded standard of their nation, but from which their wives and families were to be for ever excluded.—For the superintendence of this trade, certain officers were appointed by the East India Company—and it was to be exclusively carried on with ten or twelve Chinese merchants of the city, called hong-merchants, through whom alone, the outside barbarians had access by the *pin* [i. e. petition] to the government of the city.

In the year 1792, just at the time when the wars of the French revolution, in which Great Britain took so prominent a part, were breaking out, the British government instituted a splendid embassy to the emperor of China, Kienlung, who was then approaching the termination of a reign of sixty years. The selection of the time for this mission excited a general suspicion throughout Europe, that its object was connected with the policy agitated by the approaching conflict, and that an alliance at least defensive against revolutionary France, was contemplated, under the ostensible appearance of placing the commercial intercourse between the two countries upon a more just and equitable footing. From the historical account of this embassy, published by sir George Staunton, it appears that its object was to prevail upon the Chinese government to admit the establishment of

a permanent diplomatic British minister to reside near the person of the emperor, at Peking, and thereby to secure a more effective protection to the commerce between the two countries, than it had before enjoyed. This was a fair and laudable purpose—and so reasonable did it appear, that Mr. Ward, who published his excellent history of the Law of Nations, in 1795, before the result of lord Macartney's embassy was known, in the passage of his work, where he noticed this exclusive and excluding policy of the Chinese, added a note announcing the expectation that very shortly thereafter, a permanent British diplomatic mission would be established at the imperial court of Peking. But this was not the conclusion of Chinese logic or Chinese benevolence. From the moment that lord Macartney landed in China, till he embarked in the *Lion* to return home, he was considered as the vassal of a distant subordinate petty prince, sent by his master to do homage, and bear the tributary presents to the superhuman majesty of the celestial empire. *Laudandum, ornandum, tolerandum*, was the unvarying policy of the treatment which he received—all possible courtesy of forms was observed towards him, and, with occasional gross exceptions, to the numerous retinue of the embassy. Two grandees of the empire, Chau tájin, a civilian, and Wán tájin, a military commander, were sent to accompany and escort him to Peking, with a third legate, a Tartar in every sense of the word, whose office was all but avowedly that of a spy. Arrived at Peking, lord Macartney found that the emperor was absent in Tartary, and was advised to follow him thither, which he accordingly did. He was lodged with his junto, at sundry unoccupied imperial palaces on the way, and given to understand that this and many other petty observances, were transcendent honors, such as no outside barbarian had ever before been indulged in. Meantime he was advised to practice the kotow, or ceremonial prostration, knocking his forehead nine times on the floor, which would be required on his being presented to the emperor. Lord Macartney, who perfectly understood the meaning of this ceremony, importing that his sovereign was but the tributary vassal of the celestial emperor, proposed as a compromise, to perform his part of the ceremony, on condition that a Chinese mandarin of equal rank with himself, should perform the same ceremony before the portrait of the king of Great Britain. This proposal was not accepted, but the old emperor, as a special favor, consented to receive the ambassador, as he was accustomed to approach his own sovereign, on one bended knee.

Before the presentation, however, lord Macartney had a private interview with the kóláu, or prime minister of the empire, in which he disclosed the principal object of his mission, and was sufficiently forewarned of its failure. "His excellency," (says sir George Staunton,) "found it necessary to use great tenderness and many qualified expressions, in conveying any idea that a connection between Great Britain and China, could be of any importance to the latter, either by the introduction of European commodities, of which taken in barter, the necessity was not felt: or by the supply of cotton or of rice from India, which some of the Chinese provinces were equally fit to cultivate; or of bullion, of which the increase had sometimes the inconvenience of unequally increasing the prices of the useful or necessary articles of life; or lastly by the assistance of a naval force to destroy the pirates on the coast, against whose mischief the sure source existed of an internal communication by rivers and canals. Such were the avowed or affected notions entertained by the Chinese government, of the superiority or independence of the empire, that no transaction with foreigners was admissible by it, on the

ground of reciprocal benefit, but as a grace and condescension from the former to the latter. . . . His excellency was not unwilling to negotiate even on those terms; and the kóláu obligingly said, that they should have frequent opportunities of meeting during the continuance of his excellency's visit at the Chinese court."

The value of this answer was very shortly after ascertained. The presentation of the ambassador and the delivery of his credential letters was effected with great solemnity, and he was magnificently entertained by the emperor on his birth-day, the 17th of September. But the letter and the presents were no sooner delivered, than he received significant hints, that it was expected he would apply without delay for permission to depart.—The emperor returned after a few days to Peking, preceded by the ambassador. Then lord Macartney, to avoid the appearance of obtruding himself too long upon the generous hospitality of the flowery land, wrote to the kóláu, informing him of his intention to ask permission to depart in the ensuing month of February, at the beginning of the Chinese new-year. Instead of answering this latter, the kóláu sent for lord Macartney to come to him, informed him that the emperor was greatly concerned for the health of the ambassador and of his suite, and that the climate of Peking would be very unfavorable to them in the winter, but that it was perfectly at the ambassador's own option to depart or to remain, the solicitude of the emperor being caused solely and exclusively by his regard for the embassy and the ambassador himself. Lord Macartney assured the red buttoned officer that he was not under the slightest apprehension for himself or for his companions, of suffering from the climate of Peking—that he had many important objects of negotiation to present to the consideration of his imperial majesty, and "that he, the kóláu, had, when at Jcho, been so good as to flatter him with the hope of many meetings with him, which, however anxiously he wished for, his sudden departure would necessarily prevent."

The reply of the kóláu was in the most approved style of courtly dissimulation. Without particularly noticing the appeal to his previous promise, his words were so gracious that the interpreter, a native Chinese, concluded that it would be perfectly at the ambassador's option to stay as long as might suit his purpose. The kóláu gave not the most distant intimation to his excellency the ambassador that the emperor's answer to the credential letter from the king of Great Britain was already prepared, and was to be delivered to him the next day, as it actually was; and that he might make no mistake as to the intentions of his Chinese majesty, Chau tájin and Wán tájin were sent to him, to inform him gently, with great reluctance, and under some depression of spirits, that they surmised but did not know, that the emperor's answer would be delivered to him on that day; and that the moment it should be received, it would be advisable to make application for permission to depart.

Early the next morning the ambassador was again sent for to meet the kóláu at the great hall of audience in the palace of Peking, as soon as he could get ready. Though severely indisposed, he had no choice but to obey the summons, and after traversing a considerable part of the Tartar city, on reaching the great hall of the palace-guard, the emperor's answer to the letter of the king of Great Britain, in a large roll covered with yellow silk was placed in a chair hung with curtains of the same color. It was afterwards carried in form up the middle of three flights of stairs; while the kóláu and others who stood by it, and the ambassador and his suite went up the side steps to the hall. The answer was placed in the midst of the hall, and not delivered to the ambassador, but was afterwards sent to his

hotel, in state. That this humiliation of the British nation in the person of their ambassador should lack no appropriate appendage, it seemed to be part of the intended ceremony of the day to display the beauties of the palace to the ambassador; which his indisposition obliged him to decline; and to leave the honor of this perambulation to sir George Staunton himself, and to other gentlemen of the embassy. The kóláu led them through a great number of separate edifices erected on a regular plan in a high style of magnificence, all intended for public occasions and appearance, while the emperor's private apartments were pointed out at a distance in the interior palace.

With the emperor's answer to the letter of his Britannic majesty, farewell presents for him, for the ambassador, and for every person of his suite, were sent to the hotel. Lord Macartney was extremely reluctant at coming to the conclusion that his embassy was at an end, and that he had nothing more to do but to ask permission to depart and return to his own country; but a kind friend at the imperial court, whose good offices he had secured, suggested to him that the Chinese had no other idea of an embassy, and there was in truth no other alternative. To relieve him from this embarrassment to his British pride and this Tartar courtesy, he just at this time received advices of the war which the National Convention had declared against the king of Great Britain, and the Stadtholder of the Netherlands, and he comforted himself with the anticipation that by returning home immediately in the Lion, the ship which had conveyed him to China, he might at the same time perform the service of conveying in safety the East India Company's fleet of merchantmen then bound to Europe.

This ship, however, which had landed him at the mouth of the Pei ho river, within three days' journey of Peking, had already sailed from the neighboring island of Chusan, and was returning to Canton. The distance from that city to Peking is from twelve to fourteen hundred miles, the whole of which lord Macartney and his whole embassy were transported by island, river, and canal navigation, at the cost of his imperial majesty, in the custody of a succession of officers, civil and military, of the very highest dignity—everywhere treated with distinguished honors, occasionally buffeted with humiliating insults, and never suffered to stray a single mile from the river or canal upon which they were boated, into the country through which they were passing; or to pass a night in one of the numerous cities through which they were conducted. They were nearly three months in the performance of this inland safe conduct; and at the expiration of his voyage and embassy, lord Macartney knew about as much of the condition of the interior of China as if he had, during the two years of his absence, continually resided in Pall Mall or Piccadilly, within a stone's throw of the palace of St. James.

This embassy, however, appears to have been treated with more respect than any other from an European government during the two centuries of the reign of the Tá Tsing or Mantchou-Tartar dynasty. The narrative of sir George Staunton distinctly and positively affirms that lord Macartney was admitted to the presence of the emperor Kienlung, and presented to him his credentials without performing the prostration of the kotow, the Chinese act of homage from the vassal to the sovereign lord:—ceremonies between superiors and inferiors are the personification of principles. Nearly twenty-five years after the repulse of lord Macartney, in 1816, another splendid embassy was dispatched by the British government, in the person of lord Amherst, who was much more rudely dismissed, without ever

being admitted to the presence of the emperor, or passing a single hour at Peking. A Dutch embassy, instituted shortly after the failure of that of lord Macartney's, fared no better, although the ambassador submitted with a good grace to the prostration of the kotow. A philosophical republican may smile at the distinction by which a British nobleman saw no objection to delivering his credentials on the bended knee, but could not bring his stomach to the attitude of entire prostration. In the discussion which arose between lord Amherst and the celestials, on this question, the Chinese to a man, insisted inflexibly that lord Macartney had performed the kotow, and Kiáking, the successor of Kientung, who had been present at the reception of lord Macartney, personally pledged himself that he had seen his lordship in that attitude. Against the testimony to the fact of the imperial witness in person, it may well be conjectured how impossible it was for the British noble to maintain his position, which was, after all, of small moment. The bended knee, no less than the full length prostration to the ground, is a symbol of homage from an inferior to a superior, and if not equally humiliating to the performer, it is only because he has been made familiar by practice with one and not with the other. In Europe, the bended knee is exclusively appropriated to the relations of sovereign and subject, and no representative of any sovereign in Christendom ever bends the knee in presenting his credentials to another. But the personal prostration of the ambassador before the emperor, was in the Chinese principle of exactions, symbolical not only of the acknowledgment of subjection, but of the fundamental law of the empire, prohibiting all official intercourse upon a footing of equality between the government of China, and the government of any other nation. All are included under the general denomination of outside barbarians, and the commercial intercourse with the maritime or navigating nations is maintained through the exclusive monopoly of the hong-merchants.

It has been seen how the British government and nation had accommodated themselves to this self-arrogating system of the Chinese. It was by establishing a monopoly on their part adapted to the monopoly of the Chinese system. The exclusive right of trading with China was granted to the East India Company, and all the commerce of British subjects with the celestial empire was transacted by means of commissioned supercargoes, appointed by those merchant princes, without diplomatic character, and without direct intercourse with any officer of the Chinese government.

But on the expiration and removal of the East India Company's charter in 1833, the exclusive right of trading with China was discontinued, and thenceforth the quasi-political intercourse between the two nations, transacted by mere commercial agents of the East India Company ceased, and in the third and fourth year of the reign of William IV., an act of parliament was made and passed, 'to regulate the trade to China and India.' In pursuance of the powers conferred upon the crown by this act, the sailor-king issued three orders in council. 1.—Constituting and appointing William-John, lord Napier, W. Henry Chicheley Plowden, and John Francis Davis, 'superintendents of the trade of British subjects in China,' with an order for the government of British subjects within the Chinese dominions. 2.—Creating a court of justice for the purposes therein mentioned. 3.—Imposing duties on the ships and goods of British subjects trading to China, for the purposes therein mentioned, that is, of defraying the expenses of the establishment. The order for the imposition of duties was afterwards rescinded, and the order

for the constitution of a court of justice was suspended for further consideration. The chief superintendent lord Napier was *instructed* to announce his arrival at Canton, by letter to the viceroy. The superintendents were instructed to take up their residence at the port of Canton, and to discharge the duties of their commission within the river or port of Canton, or at any other place within that river or port, or at any other place thereafter to be designated by an order in council, and *not elsewhere*.

One of the most remarkable circumstances attending all these transactions is, that in giving these instructions to the superintendents to take up their residence at Canton, and to the chief superintendent to announce his arrival by letter to the viceroy, they appear not to have been aware of the possibility of any objection to this course of proceeding on the part of the Chinese. Accordingly, on his arrival in China, after organizing the board of superintendents at Macao, lord Napier with his colleagues and the secretary of the commission proceeded immediately to Canton. For the scenes which ensued of dramatic interest, partaking at once of tragedy and farce, recourse may be had to the official dispatch of the chief superintendent to his Britannic majesty's secretary of state. 'In obedience to his majesty's commands (says lord Napier in his letter of 9th August 1834, to lord Palmerston) conveyed to me by your lordship, of the date of the 23d of January last, desiring me to announce my arrival at Canton by letter to the viceroy, which being rendered into Chinese by the Rev. Dr. Morrison, the Chinese secretary and interpreter, was carried to the city gates by Mr. Astell, (the secretary to the commission) accompanied by a deputation of gentlemen from the establishment.'

[For lord Napier's account of this transaction, see pages 26 and 27 of this vol.]

You have now, in this portion of the narrative of the first dispatch from lord Napier to lord Palmerston, the primitive and efficient cause of the present war between Great Britain and China. — was in the attempt to execute two points of the instructions to the superintendent. That the chief superintendent should announce his arrival at Canton, by letter to the viceroy, and the other, that the superintendents should take up their residence at Canton. Lord Napier, with the open-hearted and inconsiderate boldness of a British sailor, attempted to execute these points of his instructions to the letter, without for an instant conceiving that each of them was in direct conflict with the vital and fundamental laws of the celestial empire. This ignorance was very natural and very excusable in a captain of the British navy, but how it came to be shared by the council and the secretary of state of the British empire, is more unaccountable. The instructions were explicit and positive. Had there been the remotest suspicion at the time when they were prepared, that their execution would meet with resistance by the Chinese authorities, it could not have failed to be noticed in them, with directions how the superintendents were to proceed in such an event. Until then the official protector of British commercial interests in China, had been a supercargo of the East India Company, denominated by the Chinese a *táipán*, whose representations or remonstrances in behalf of British subjects to the governor of the two provinces, Kwángtung and Kwángsí, were always presented in the form of petitions, and always communicated through the medium of the hong-merchants, without obtaining or claiming direct access to the Chinese dignitary himself. That this mode of communication was to cease from the time of the expiration of the exclusive privileges of the East India Company, was

equally well known to the British and Chinese governments, and in the controversy which immediately followed this first collision between lord Napier and the governor of Canton, the latter once and again asserts that ample warning had been given to the British merchants that when, by the expiration of the privileges of the East India Company, the functions of the *táipán* would be superseded, some suitable messenger must be substituted to settle with the hong-merchants those trifling and insignificant concerns of commerce which it was far beneath the dignity of the government of the celestial empire to provide for or to notice.

But I am already trespassing upon your patience—a brief and summary notice of the sequel, is all that your time will at present allow. The proud and generous British noble mariner persisted in his determination to hold direct communication with the governor of the two provinces, Lú, and to continue his residence at Canton, till he was obliged to call for an armed force from the British frigate in which he had performed his passage, and for the frigate and another to force the passage of the river for the protection of his person from assault by the armed force of the governor, who on his part issued edict after edict against the barbarian eye, the laboriously vile Napier, who had come by sea more than ten thousand miles to the flowery land of the celestial empire, for what purpose, the chief of the two-eyed peacock feather could not tell, but against all reason, and ignorant of all dignities, pretending to correspond with the viceroy of the provinces of Kwángtung and Kwángsí, upon matters of trade, by letter, instead of by petition, and to assume the functions, which for a century and some tens of years had always been performed in all humility by a *táipán*, petitioning through the medium of the hong-merchants. Three of the principal hong-merchants attempted for several days to negotiate a compromise between the governor and the noble lord superintendent, without success, till at length an edict was issued by the governor which suspended the British trade. The British commerce in China was prosecuted at a blow, and the only alternative left to lord Napier was to retire under numerous insults and indignities to Macao, where on the 13th day of October, 1834, he died of chagrin and a broken heart.

And here we might pause:—do I hear you inquire, what is all this to the opium question, or the taking of Canton? These I answer are but incidents in that movement of mind on this globe of earth, of which the war between Great Britain and China, is now the leading star. Of the four questions which I have proposed this evening to discuss, we have not even reached the conclusion of the first.

The justice of the cause between the two parties:—which has the righteous cause? You have perhaps been surprised to hear me answer Britain—Britain has the righteous cause. But to prove it, I have been obliged to show that the opium question is not the cause of the war, my demonstration is not yet complete. The cause of the war is the *kotow*!—the arrogant and insupportable pretensions of China, that she will hold commercial intercourse with the rest of mankind, not upon terms of equal reciprocity, but upon the insulting and degrading forms of the relation between lord and vassal. The melancholy catastrophe with which I am obliged to close, the death of the gallant Napier, was the first bitter fruit of the struggle against that insulting and senseless pretension of China. Might I, in the flight of time, be permitted again to address you, I should pursue the course of the inquiry, through the four questions with which I have begun. But the solution



of them all is involved in the germinating element of the first, the justice of the cause. This I have sought in the natural rights of man. Whether it may ever be my good fortune to address you again, is in the disposal of a higher Power; but with reference to the last of my four questions, What are the duties of the government and the people of the United States, resulting from the existing war between Great Britain and China? I leave to your meditations the last event of that war, which the winds have brought to our ears—the ransom of Canton. When we remember the scornful refusal from the gates of Canton in July, 1834, of Mr. Astell, bearing the letter of peace and friendship from lord Napier to the governor of the two provinces, and the contemptuous refusal to receive the letter itself, and compare it with the ransom of that same city in June, 1841, we trace the whole line of connection between cause and effect—may we not draw from it a monitory lesson, written with a beam of phosphoric light—of preparation for war, and preservation of peace?

*Note.* One of the strongest inducements to place this lecture of Mr. Adams upon the pages of the Repository has been in this manner to exhibit the principal arguments that can be stated in behalf of this view of the merits of the present struggle between China and England. These remarks are the views of a man of extensive experience in public life, and as such are worthy of attention and deference; and they also show in a lucid manner one of the strongest reasons why the Chinese government has not the right to shut themselves out from the rest of mankind, founded on deductions drawn from the rights of men as members of one great social system. While, however, we differ from the lecturer with regard to the influence the opium trade has had upon the war, for it has been without doubt the great proximate cause, we mainly agree with him as to the effect that other remoter causes springing from Chinese assumption, conceit, and ignorance have also had upon it. In its progress, these features have been more and more prominently brought forward, and on the part of this government, the war is probably at present regarded as one of supremacy or vassalism, according as the Chinese win or lose. We do not see how the war could have arisen, had not the opium trade been a smuggling trade,—we think it would never have gone on as it has were the Chinese better acquainted with their own and others' rights. But whatever be its course, it must we think, be the hearty desire of every well-wisher of his race, that the almighty Governor of the nations would in his own chosen way educate lasting good to both parties, and cause that these two mighty nations may in their future intercourse be a mutual benefit.—*Ed. Chi. Rep.*

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#### ART. IV. *Recent military operations of the British forces in China, and actual position of the belligerent parties.*

IN Chekiáng, where the chief interest of the British expedition against China is at this moment concentrated, and where the Chinese have, for months past, been assembling their high officers and select troops in the largest numbers, there have recently occurred, some more active operations than during the past winter. These, brought on by the increased daring of the Chinese, have resulted, as was to be expected in their signal discomfiture.

After the capture of Chínháí, and the consequent occupation of Ningpò in Oct last, the amount of force then with the head-quarters of the expedition was not deemed sufficient for further onward progress. It would have shown weakness, and afforded encouragement, to the Chinese to have retired from Ningpò without making a simultaneous forward movement to some other more important point; and it was therefore resolved to retain possession of that city for the winter, unless the excuse of a ransom should be given for its evacuation. We ourselves cannot but think, that, whether the immediate object of keeping the troops quiet and unfatigued during the winter months be considered, or the desirableness of losing no opportunity to press the enemy to the utmost possible straits be the question, it would, in either point of view, have been better, at this early period, when the defenses of the capital of the province were hardly even commenced, to have pushed on and taken, or ransomed at a high rate (and thereby weakened the enemy's 'sinews of war'), the ancient city of Hángchau, the capital of the whole province. Such a movement, it would appear, is *now* to be made (if at the date of our writing it has not been already accomplished); and this, with no great increase of force upon the side of the British, though opposed to a vastly increased number of men and extent of defenses on the side of the Chinese. The difficulties to be encountered are great; but we feel not a doubt, that the superiority of British arms and discipline—under the blessing of the God of battles, who giveth not always the battle to the strong, nor the race to the swift—will come off victorious. A statement of these difficulties, and some exposition of the recent events which have led to this movement in advance, may be looked for by our readers.

Hángchau, as we have elsewhere stated, lies on the north bank of the river Tsientáng, at a point where that river, after a rapid course from the southward and westward, through the western districts of the province, begins to open out and form a wide embouchure toward the sea. "The tide, when full," says sir G. Staunton in his account of Macartney's embassy, "increases the width of this river to about four miles opposite the city. At low water, there is a fine level strand, near two miles broad, which extends towards the sea as far as the eye can reach."

On its *southern* shore, as we proceed eastward from Hángchau, this swift-flowing river has deposited, during the lapse of ages, upon the slope of a ridge of hills that skirts it to the southward, bank upon bank of sand and earth, brought down by its rapid stream from the

high mountain-range (one of the outmost of the off-branches of the Himalayas) wherein it has its source. Under the triple distinction of *hardened* ground, *firm* sands, and *quick* sands, these deposits of centuries have so narrowed the stream in its progress onward, that the deep channel that has been left on its northern edge has been found to flow with a rapidity, which even the steam vessels, when sent out to survey were unable during the spring tides to stem.

A stone causeway, built and kept in repair with much labor and the utmost exertions of Chinese engineering skill, serves on the *northern* bank to keep out the encroachments of river and sea from the generally flat country that lies between this place and the Yángtsz' kiáng,—a country everywhere intersected with streams, rendering it rich and fertile in the highest degree, and at the same time sufficiently diversified with hills to add beauty to the scene, and to make it in all respects one of the most lovely and interesting parts in the whole empire of China.

The sand banks on the *southern* shore reach nearly to Chínháí,—not many miles to the westward of which the unfortunate ship Kite was lost in 1840, and her crew conveyed to 'Tsz'ki and Yüyáu, and thence to Ningpò. The river 'Tsáungò rising in the centre of the Chekiáng province flows northward, almost in a straight line, into the embouchure of the 'Tsientáng or Hángchan river; and thus makes a slight break in the line of these sand banks, to examine which commander Collinson has recently been sent out, but with what success he has met we have yet to learn. Communicating, too, with the river of Ningpò by means of a canal, that extends likewise from the 'Tsáungò, westward, past the city of Sháuhing, and ends at a place directly opposite to Hángchau, a line of communication by inland waters is thus afforded between the British position at Chínháí and Ningpò, and the head-quarters of the Chinese force at that provincial capital,—a line which has been twice described to us,—first, by the PP. Bouvet, Fontenay, and others, on their route from Ningpò by way of Hángchau to Peking in 1687,—and then, by a portion of lord Macartney's embassy proceeding in an opposite direction, from Hángchau to rejoin their ship at Chusan, in 1793. The embankment and canseway, on the northern shore of the 'Tsientáng river and embouchure, extend from Hángchau, with little interruption to the knot of hills that encircles the bay and town of Chápú,—passing by the ancient Canfu (Kánpú) of Mohammedan travelers, before it reaches this the modern seat of the rich trade with Japan: and nearly parallel with this road runs a canal, its banks adorned at short distances with prettily wooded villages.

We have thus three modes of approaching Hángchau:—first, by the sea and the river of Tsientáng, a route which sand banks and rapid tides render most difficult, if not impracticable;—secondly, by inland water, from Chínháí and Ningpò to the shore opposite the capital, carrying us past Sháuhing and several other fortified towns, and meeting interruptions in some places of locks that must be *ascended*; and thirdly, by land route from Chápú, upon a carefully preserved causeway, whereof we possess rather well-drawn native maps, and which we have reason to believe good, and of sufficient width for artillery. Of these routes a question can scarcely arise as to which will be found the best to advance upon.

A distance of about fifty miles of sea, measured on a line drawn northward and westward, separates Chínháí from Chápú; and a somewhat greater distance of causeway has to be traveled over before reaching Hángchau from this latter place. But the town of Chápú once taken (and it can be come at by the guns of the British ships, as the Algerine proved in 1840), and its hills once crossed, there is little other than a large tract of plain ground, with perhaps only small streams intersecting it, to be passed over in the march thence upon Hángchau. The city of Kiáhing fú lies, however, not far from this route, nor many miles distant from Chápú, and here the main force of the Chinese *left wing* will have to be encountered. Its *centre* rests upon Hángchau, and “the rich and beautiful country about ninety miles in length,” that lies between it and Súchau, on either side of the Grand canal. The chief position of its *right wing* is Sháuhing, a large city, situated, as already mentioned, on a branch of the river Tsáungò, and about midway between Ningpò and Hángchau,—from which advanced parties have been frequently pushed out to Yiyáu and Tsz’kí, chief towns of districts on the north bank of the Ningpò river, situated between that river and the sand banks of the embouchure of the Tsientáng.

With the centre of this extended Chinese force we find, surrounding himself with every sensual indulgence, the imperial high commissioner, Yiking, “awe-inspiring general, a minister of the cabinet of six, a president of the Tribunal of Civil Office,” and a nephew or cousin of the emperor,—attended by a galaxy of high provincial officers, the Tartar-general, the governor, &c., &c., &c., and by two joint-commissioners, by name Teishun and Wan Wei, to whom a third has lately been added, and a multitude of “courtiers,” or officers sent immediately from the presence of the emperor. Kíshen, too, would have been of the number, (for he is among the friends of

Yiking), but for the strongly urged remonstrances, as we are led to believe, of the governor, Liú Yunkò. With the left wing, at Kiáking fú, is Húcháu, another joint commissioner, who having gained rank and nobility by the war of 1831 against Jehanguir and his Túrks, at Cashgar and Yárkand in the farthest west, hopes now to adorn himself with honors wrested by his own right hand from the English on the sea-coasts of the east. At Sháuhing, with the right wing, is Chin Kiáiping, an aged man, lately retired from the chief command in Fukien, but now again called forth as joint commissioner and commander-in-chief in Chekiáng,—with whom are associated the active and intelligent old general Yü Púyun, late commander-in-chief of the provincial force, and all those who, with him retired, defeated, from Chinhái and Ningpò, after the death of that savage self-confident generalissimo, Yükien. Under these numerous officers are assembled many thousands of select troops from almost every province of the empire, foremost among whom stands a detachment of the imperial guards,—a body of the men of Kánsu, tall and athletic inheritors of the blood of Mohammedan Túrks and Tartars,—and a band of aborigines from the mountain fastnesses of Húkwáng or of Sz'chuen, called forth now to meet the new invaders of the country, from whose plains they themselves have by former invaders been long since expelled.

Against this whole force we find marshaled, under the gallant lieut.-general and vice-admiral, sir Hugh Gough, and sir William Parker, besides the necessary detachments of royal and Madras artillery and engineers, only four regiments of foot, the 18th, 26th, 49th and 55th (none of them complete) and two battalions from the navy, consisting of royal marines and seamen. And of so small an array, portions must yet be left to rest upon Chinhái and Tinghái, while the main body is moving forward to meet the left and centre of the Chinese army. That army met and worsted, its right wing will alone remain, hemmed in, resourceless, between the division of the British force at Chinhái and at Hángchau,—and quickly as the dew must it dissolve away. But so dispelled it will become yet more formidable than in its entirety, if, instead of withdrawing from one field of battle to seek elsewhere another, the British forces should repose from their toils amid the scattered, but not subjected, multitudes of the enemy. Blow must succeed rapidly to blow, if final success is to be hoped for. It was by the windmills in active motion that the redoubtable Don Quixote was worsted: he might have come off scatheless in the collision with them, in the calm and idle rest of a breathless summer's day.

It is from such a state of inactive repose, in the very midst of the enemy, that the British forces have recently been aroused by the bold attempts which the Chinese had thereby been encouraged to make; and it is always during such a continuance of inactivity, that a crafty enemy is enabled to organize a system of espionage and secret influence, to send into the invader's camp the vilest agents to kidnap or to poison. Of the proceedings of the Chinese in these respects, sundry accounts have from time to time appeared in the public prints, and others are daily reaching us: of their bolder operations, in the night-attack on Ningpò, and the resistance they offered when their advanced post at Tsz'kí was in turn attacked, full particulars are afforded in the circulars issued by H. B. M.'s plenipotentiary to the British community, contained in the last number.

At Amoy, a like state of inactivity has been rendered yet more unavoidable by the smallness of the force left there, five companies of the 18th Royal Irish, at the moment of our writing reduced to three only, on the island of Kúláng sú,—and two or three ships of war in the harbor. Westward from Kúláng sú, an inlet or branch of the sea, for it is such rather than a river, runs up into the land in a westerly direction (soon becoming very shallow), to the departmental chief town of Chángchau. Amoy itself, and Kúláng sú as its dependency, are not however subordinate to this city, but to that of Tsiuenchau (Chinchew), situated at the head of a bay somewhat farther up the coast than that of Amoy. More immediately, Amoy pertains to the district of Tungán, a dependency of the department of Tsiuenchau. It is chiefly in this department, as being within a convenient distance of the capital of the province, that Fliáng the late governor of Kwángtung, now a special commissioner and (we believe) governor-general of Fukien and Chekiáng, makes at this time his residence. Another commissioner, Tuánkwá, is with him and also the late governor-general Yen Petáu, disgraced for having been unable to save Amoy. Accounts received from thence to the 15th of April bring us rumors of an intended attack, to be made on Kúláng sú, from the direction chiefly of Chángchau, by 20,000 men, with the aid of a band of pirates and robbers, and a squadron of fire-boats. Not a doubt can we feel, that captain Smith, who, in the *Volage* and *Druid* successively, has been so long among us, and has had such numerous opportunities of witnessing these *dread* attacks by fire-boats, and who so well knows how to temper firmness with kindness and moderation in his treatment of the people, will, aided by the timely warning

which the people will convey to him, easily be enabled to defeat all their machinations.

In the south, taken up with watching the rising progress of Hongkong, or averse to commit themselves to measures that might require a retention here of a large force, the British authorities have permitted the Chinese to rebuild their defenses; and from a little above Whampoa upwards, Canton and its approaches are now much more strongly fortified than ever before.

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The foregoing observations having been prepared somewhat too late for insertion in the last number, some more recent accounts have since reached us. At Chinhái and Chusan, several attempts to cause destruction of the shipping by fire-boats and by shallops containing boxes of gunpowder have been defeated (in one case with the loss of four men killed and wounded). The routed fugitives from 'Tsz'kí were met in their flight by a new commissioner, Chülahang, just arrived from Peking with violent warlike denunciations, and a large store of honorary distinctions for brave combatants. A council of war was held on his arrival, and he strongly urged renewed attacks upon Ningpò, that the enemy might be driven into the depths of the sea. Those who had already felt the effects of British prowess showed, however, great unwillingness again to advance, and Chülahang himself hesitated to become the leader of the new attacks he recommended. To fight to the last by their own posts, and not to seek death in advancing seems therefore to have been the determination with which the council broke up. Meanwhile, it has become the purpose of the British authorities, if report speak correctly, not to approach Hángchau, but to turn the flank of all this force, and by attacking the defenses that have been erected in the Yángtsz' kiáng, to throw open that river to the British forces. The reinforcements which have begun to arrive from India and England, will soon more than double the effective force.

At Amoy the rumored attack has not taken place: captain Smith in the *Druid* has returned from Amoy to Hongkong, and captain Nias in the *Herald* has taken his place at Amoy.

At Canton, Yishán has been permitted to send back some portions of his force that had come from distant provinces. Yiking, in the north, it is said has done the same, in order to conceal the fact of the numerous desertions that had taken place in his corps.

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ART. V. *Journal of Occurrences: members of the cabinet; rumors from Peking; forts at Tientsin; Hongkong.*

THE northern capital is now, more than ever before, an object of attention—attracting alike all eyes, foreign as well as native far and near. The Gazettes, down to about the middle of April, are filled as usual with memorials and edicts, announcements of new appointments, &c., &c., seeming to indicate little or no concern, by the conductors of the “machinery of government,” for its continued safe administration.

The four principal ministers of the cabinet are—as at the commencement of the year—Muchángáh, Pwán Shíngan, Páuhing, and Wáng Ting; and fifth and sixth are 奕經 Yiking and 卓秉活 Chó Pinghwò. The original sentence, sending Lin to Ylí, “the cold country,” has been put in execution; so we have been informed. He left Peking sometime last month. Kíshen has been banished to Mantchouria; and old Ílípú sent again to Chekiáng.

The rumor that Táukwang has fled from Peking to Moukden, we do not find authenticated. The monarchs of the reigning dynasty have been accustomed we believe, annually, early in summer, to retire to the ancient residence of their family in Mantchouria, there to spend the hot months. This precaution for avoiding hot weather, we imagine H. I. M. will probably not neglect during the present season.

At Tientsin, and along the Pei ho, from the sea to the capital, the Chinese, by all accounts, have made great preparations for defense. The forts are reported to be more than a hundred in number, and the troops almost innumerable.

At Hongkong, affairs have gone on peaceably. Transports, containing Indian troops, steamers, and men-of-war have arrived and part of them gone northward.

The settlement on the island itself still progresses rapidly so far as the erection of buildings is concerned. A market for the accommodation of the Chinese in disposing of provisions has been erected and opened. H. E. sir Henry Pottinger, under date of April 27th, issued a proclamation, declaring Mexican or other republican dollars to be the standard in all matters of trade, unless otherwise particularly specified. This was done at the suggestion of several of the leading English mercantile firms.—The Hongkong Gazette and Friend of China of the 12th inst. contains a General Orders of H. E. sir Hugh Gough, which quotes the approbation of the late governor-general of India, lord Auckland, respecting the operations before Chinhái and Ningpò. Another paper of the 19th contains the following notice.

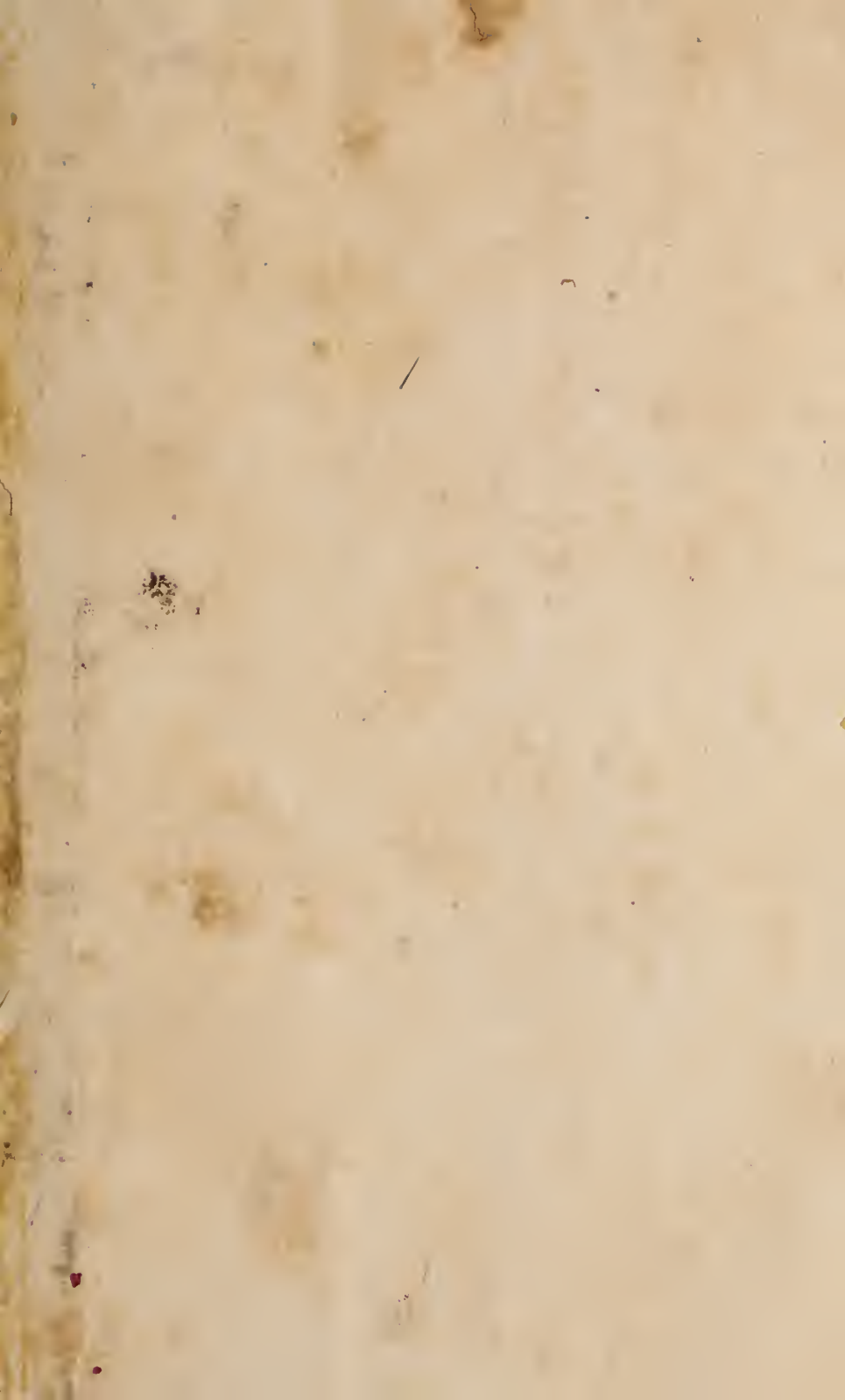
The appointments of land officer, surveyor, and acting colonial surgeon at Hongkong, are, under instruction from her majesty's government, to cease from the 31st of the current month. The arrangements to be continued for the discharge of the duties hitherto performed by the land officer will be noticed in due time.

By order, CHARLES E. STEWART, Assistant secretary and treasurer.  
Government House, Hongkong, 17th May, 1842.









Date Due

Ap 19 '45

Ap 27 '45

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